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July 1922

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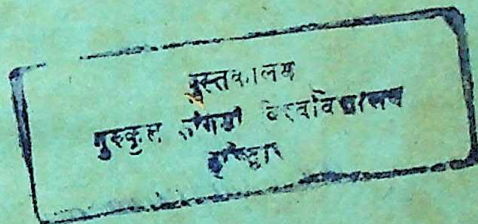


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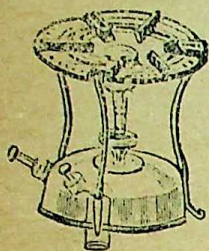
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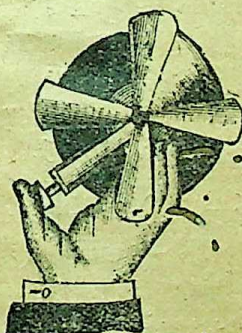
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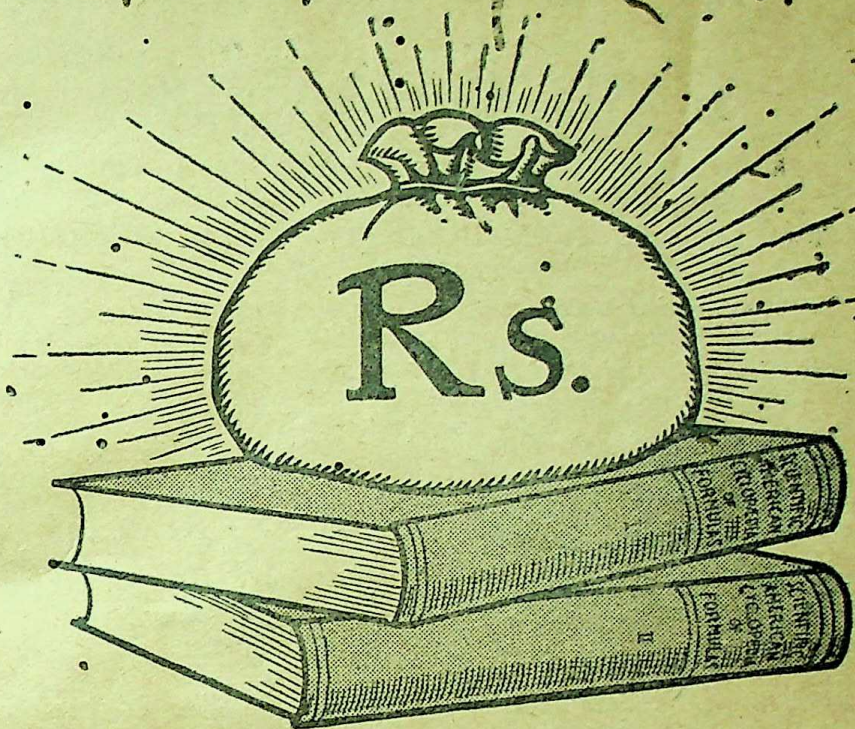
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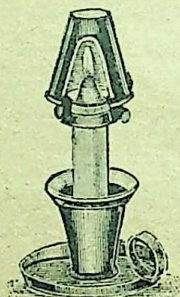
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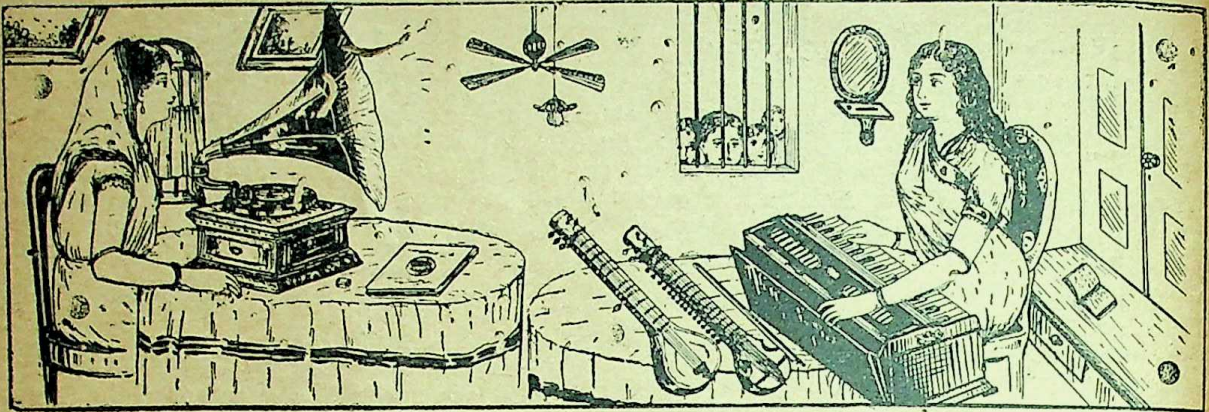
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# THE MODERN REVIEW

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## BUDDHISM AND CHRISTIANITY

FOR more than eight years, I have kept in my writing-case the copies of some letters, which I sent from South Africa to the Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, at Shantiniketan. During that troubled time in Africa, at the close of the Passive Resistance movement, Shantiniketan was to me from afar a symbol of peace, towards which my mind continually returned for its inspiration and support. These letters were a connecting link, binding me to the Ashram.

The letters I wrote were all of a religious nature. I discussed them each one with Mahatma Gandhi before sending them to the Poet. The subject of them so occupied my mind, that the stirring political events in which we were engaged seemed as nothing in comparison. For my mind was passing through a religious crisis, and a period of suffering had come to me in my inner life, which was to usher in the birth of a new intellectual freedom. At such a time, it was an infinite strength to me to be able to turn away my thoughts from external things altogether, and seek the peace of Shantiniketan, by sitting down in silence and writing to the Poet.

The change of atmosphere in the new and alien environment of South Africa, was so confusing at first, and the pressure with which it thrust itself upon me was so strong, that for a

time I was almost bewildered. The solid ground under my feet seemed to be shaken. I could not understand what was happening; where it would all end; and to what final conclusions it would lead me. The fact has to be taken into account, that I was an Anglican clergyman, still exercising the functions both of a clergyman and a missionary. Though I had seen in India already things that had greatly shocked me within the church, yet I had never seen anything in all my life before to compare with the hard, arrogant, intolerant and utterly unchristian racialism, which was rampant in South Africa.

It was natural, at such a time of stress, to seek help and guidance from my friends. To Susil Kumar Rudra in Delhi, I wrote at length, covering the same ground as my letters to the Poet in Shantiniketan. Mahatma Gandhi, as I have related, was with me. I talked over all my questionings with him, and read over to him what I had written to the Poet. He advised me to keep the new material I had gathered by me, and not to publish anything on the subject for at least three years.

"If what you have experienced is the Truth," he said to me, "Truth can very well afford to wait. Meanwhile, on your return to India you will have



time to sift out your present thoughts and revise them in quiet meditation, at Srantiniketan. Then publish these, but not now."

In this matter I determined to abide by his advice. Indeed I have now waited much beyond the period he mentioned.

When I reached London from Capetown, I found Mr. Gokhale suffering from the illness which was so soon, alas! to prove fatal to him. The doctors would allow very few visitors. They forbade excitement of any kind whatever. But when I was with him and had related to him my inner thoughts about religions, he asked me to tell him the whole story. Before I had started for South Africa, he had said to me at Delhi,—"This visit is going to be a great shock to your Christianity." I reminded him of this and told him that his words had proved to be literally true. He read over very carefully indeed the copies of the letters I had written to the Poet. It was of supreme interest to me, to find how deeply he had already pondered over the very problem with which I had been faced. It was clear to me, that in that last illness of his and in his lonely life of retirement, the things relating to the religious history of mankind had a great fascination for him. The political issues were temporal: the spiritual search for Truth was eternal.

The envelope that contained the copies of these letters, is still with me. It has become brown, and the ink is faded; upon it, is still legible the name of Mr. Gokhale. This brown envelope in my writing-case, worn with age, recalls vividly to my mind a room in the National Liberal Club, Charing Cross, with Mr. Gokhale reclining on his couch, his face drawn with the suffering of his illness, yet filled with the light of intellectual vision. He would listen to me with an almost fatherly affection, and he could follow all that I told him. For he had only recently returned from South Africa and had passed through the same bitter experience.

Those days in England passed all too hurriedly. There was much to be done, and I had to come back to India at the earliest

possible moment. After my return, these same questionings that had arisen in South Africa were rarely absent from my mind. A further time of critical enquiry and fresh illustration came to me when I was with the Poet in the Far East and for the first time I was in a position to trace out the history of the great Buddhist movement in that quarter. Then, on my return to India, I stayed alone at Boro-budur in Java. The days I spent there in silence, all alone, marked a new departure in my thoughts and a new outlook.

These old letters had gone with me all the while in my writing-case, and I had looked at them occasionally and thought of publishing them. But I was slowly making up my mind to write a complete book instead of merely publishing the letters. At last, a few weeks ago, I nearly lost them altogether. They were in my writing-case along with many other papers, when it was stolen and rifled by a train thief. By a singular accident, these papers almost alone remained when the writing-case was found. Nearly all the other papers that were of value had been destroyed.

Therefore, I have now made up my mind at last to publish them, only reminding the reader beforehand, that they represent the first shock of discovery rather than a final judgment. On the whole, the substance of what I have written has stood the test of time, but on reading them through again I can see that there are many overstatements. I still hope to be able to work out the subject more thoroughly in a book form. Nevertheless the letters may perhaps have a personal and emotional value, which a book may fail to reproduce. In editing them, I have ventured here and there, for the sake of clearness, to expand the thought. Otherwise they remain practically as they were first written to the Poet, more than eight years ago.

#### LETTER I.

"This country of South Africa makes the heart grow sick with its eternal colour problem. What you have been telling me so long is quite clear to me



at last. The Christianity of the West, in its present unholy alliance with the 'white race' is utterly unable to cope with this race evil that is destroying humanity. Rather, it is aggravating the mischief by condoning it. It is giving to 'white race' inhumanity the cloak of religion, as caste did of old.

"Mr. Gokhale said to me, when I was leaving India,—'What you see in South Africa will be a great shock to your Christianity'—that has been found true. The shock has been great. But it has been a health-giving one. It has been leading me 'from the unreal to the real.'

"At almost every town out here in S. Africa, the Church of the Respectable is engaged in 'keeping the Indian in his proper place.' A sugar-planter,—a regular Church-goer and communicant,—told me about the indentured Indians on his estates,—'Of course,' he said to me unctuously, 'we provide Christian instruction for them and look after their spiritual welfare!'—this on estates where there has been cruelty, flogging, and child labour! Another, who is a rabid anti-Asiatic, wanted to tell me about the 'mission work' which was being carried on 'among the coolies'! One of the most degenerate and denationalised Indians I have met out here,—who has not lifted a finger to help his fellow Indians in their struggle for liberty,—told me that he was a 'minister of the Gospel'. I found that he had abused his official privilege of going into the prison and speaking to his fellow-countrymen (who were confined there) by attacking their religion in the name of Christ and trying to convert them to Christianity!

"What a parody of the faith of the crucified! How utterly sick the heart gets at hundreds of instances such as these! How one longs at times to be pure and meek and loving enough, in one's own character, to be able to say with Christ,—

'Ye hypocrites! Ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte; and when ye have done so, ye make him two-fold more a child of hell than yourselves!'

"The picture, of course, is not all so dark as this, and it is probable that this, often said in talking over matters with

very sickness of heart, which is mine at this moment, makes the picture appear darker to me than it really is. There is a noble educational work being done, and there are noble individual Christian men and women struggling for righteousness and hating this new race tyranny. But the tide is against them.

"It has all been a great shock to me. But the shock has been salutary. I feel, at last, that I have won through the intellectual independence. I must go outside the Church in order to find Christ in this land of South Africa. For I cannot find Him within the Church, as I see it here to-day. I have found Christ in the little groups of Hindu passive resisters and among the delicate Hindu ladies, with their bright faces, telling me of their joy in prison and speaking kindly of their jailors. But I cannot find Christ in these smugly respectable Churches, where a saint like Mr. Gandhi cannot even find an entrance.

"I have tried to make it a rule here, in South Africa, never to enter a tram-car, or a hotel, where an Indian who is my friend and companion, is not allowed to enter with me. Can I make an exception with regard to these Christian Churches, which have excluded Mr. Gandhi himself? I have had to face this problem, and up till now I have only gone into these Churches in order to preach against the race evil itself.

"And now, it is becoming every day not a question of my going outside the Church; it is rather becoming a question of expulsion,—of my being *thrust* out. I preached one such sermon against the racial evil the other day, simply stating the true Christian position, and it evidently gave the greatest offence. The same happened in another place. And now I see, that in the Church papers at home in England I am being attacked for 'heresy', because in India at the Gurukula I have attended Arya Samaj religious services and have spoken in public in favour of certain Hindu religious ideals, which are great and noble.

"The main issue, as you yourself have



me, is this,—I see it all quite plainly now.—The material power and race arrogance of the West have become bound up with an aggressive and insolent form of Christianity, which no longer represents the Christianity of Christ. What is needed, is a deep religious change of heart in the West, and a true following of Christ.

"Here, I see the hopelessness of such a merely political struggle as this of Mr. Gandhi's if it stands alone,—supremely noble though it is. He is not really cutting at the very root of the evil. When one looks more deeply at the whole situation, your one book 'Gitanjali' has done more in a few months to bring East and West together, and to change the European perspective, than all these years of embittered political struggle. I have found your poems on table after table in English houses, where I have been invited as a guest,—in Pretoria, in Johannesburg, in Kimberley, in Maritzburg and Durban; and wherever Gitanjali has gone it has brought peace and love. Indeed, strange to say, among my own countrymen, it has formed my one open-door to get intimacy of speech with them about India. The European welcome, which in certain quarters and in certain homes has been given me so very generously out here, has been in no small measure due to the fact that Reuter telegraphed out, before we arrived in the country, that we were both your friends. You little know what value that telegram has been to me!

"In so far as the Passive Resistance movement here has been spiritual throughout it has left its mark. And a little group of Europeans has been won over by it. But the political aspect,—which to the Englishman is all prominent,—has only accentuated the racial bitterness. What is a cause for even more anxiety,—it has told upon the character of the Indians themselves. It has made them restless and impatient instead of calm and enduring.

"The noblest gain has been the growth of a manly sense of independence. That has been all to the good, and the supreme

courage of Indians has extorted an unwilling admiration even from their opponents. But a deeper work,—a far deeper work,—is needed, which will cut up the root of Western pride itself. This implies the reconstruction of the very bases of human thought,—the evil lies so deep. And this can only be done, when the inner chamber of the heart is prepared in silence, and out of the depth of that silence the word of Truth is spoken before which all men must bow in reverence.

"Mr. Gandhi has caught something of the evil genius of the West,—its restlessness. He has received its good genius also,—its fearless application of principles to the final test of action, its scientific basis of experiment as the one convincing criterion of truth. But here, in South Africa, the restlessness is growing upon him, and he must come back to India herself, the Mother, for healing and renewal.

"And what I myself also see more clearly every day is this, the Western mind will have to come back to India, the Mother, also. Europe's open wound of restlessness each day grows worse and worse, and also Europe's reliance upon material success. Our Western Christianity, above all, will have to be baptized anew in the waters of India, before it is worthy of Christ.

"I understand this now from my own inner experience. I know how vain and foolish I was when I regarded myself as fit to be a Teacher and came out in a Missionary Society for that very purpose,—how I spoke and wrote at first about Indian religious life in an insolent, patronising way, instead of studying humbly its great meaning in human history. But when I look back, the wonder and the beauty of it is that India, the Mother, drew me to herself in spite of all. And little by little, the pride left me and I began to love in turn,—to love India and her historical associations with an absorbing love, a passionate worship. This new outlook has made human life a new thing to me, and human history wear an entirely different aspect. It has also



taught me afresh, in a new and wonderful way, my own Christian Faith itself.

"I do not mean by this, that the spirit of my earlier days is wholly gone, and that racial and religious pride has left me. I am not yet so sanguine. The evil went too deep to be easily rooted out from the mind in a day. And I find it still, like a weed, springing up in new and unexpected places. But there has been a real change of mental vision; and I trust, that through all the suffering it has involved, I have learned to be more humble."

#### LETTER II.

"In my last letter, I tried to show you how my innermost thoughts were shaping themselves anew, in face of this appalling evil of racialism, which is everywhere rampant in this country. I had to trace this back into my own life, before I could see it in its completeness to track it home to its source, which is not merely political and social, but also religious.

"To give an instance of my own great difficulty in arriving at the truth of things and not being put off by merely conventional teaching,—there is one step I ought intellectually to have taken long ago, had it not been for this ingrained and inherited prejudice which had been with me from my childhood upward. It is this. I can see now clearly from the study of history as well as from my own life experience in India, that the Christianity of the Sermon on the Mount is not, as I had previously regarded it, an independent Semitic growth, confined to Palestine alone. It is an outgrowth of *Indian* religious thought as well as that of the Jewish race."

"The historical connexion between Buddhism and Christianity may some day, in the future, be laid bare by scholars and research-workers. But what I am convinced of now is this, that the Christ and the Buddha are not separate phenomena in human history, but organically related; that the stream of Indian religious life flowing from the Buddha and the stream of early Christian life flowing from the Christ, are one and the same."

Upanishads and the Buddhist development lie at the basis of the Gospels and not the evolution of Semitic thought alone.

"Rivers run underground for miles and miles, and then reappear in new and extraordinary places, and so do spiritual movements. This linking together of Indian and Semitic thought in the Christian Gospel seems to me now to be one such instance. When I study the record of Christ's life and teaching in the Sermon on the Mount and in the Gospels, I breathe in India, I live in India, I feel the fragrance of India. It is not so with the Old Testament: and it is not so, generally speaking, with St. Paul. It comes just in this one section of the Christian scriptures, namely, the Gospels with the Sermon on the Mount. There is, indeed, a reflected light in St. John's Epistles and in other Epistles and in the Acts of the Apostles; but the full Indian atmosphere is breathed most freely of all in the Gospels. These stand out like a jewel in a rough setting of gold, and the light from this central jewel is Indian, as well as Semitic. The Jews crucified Jesus. But the men from the East, so the story relates, came and worshipped him, laying at his feet gold and frankincense and myrrh. Surely this old legend has a truth behind it. The Jewish mind, alone and unaided, could not recognise the Christ.

"I find it, therefore,—now after my experience of India,—less and less easy and simple to reverence the Jews' land of Palestine as the only spiritual home of my Christian Faith. The more I read the Sermon on the Mount, the more the thought grows upon me that the Christ is intimately akin to India as well as to Palestine. He is like some strange, rare, beautiful flower that has found its home in alien surroundings and blossoms therein with a startling radiance and beauty. Just as,—to compare small things with great,—Shelley, the English poet, is a strange phenomenon 'beating his luminous wings in vain' in the alien atmosphere of Tory England of the reign of George III, so the Christ of the 'Sermon on the Mount' seems to go far beyond the Jewish race from which he sprang.



"When I read the Beatitudes,—'Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth,' 'Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted,' 'Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of Heaven,'—when I read the words, 'I and my Father are One' or the passage 'Consider the lilies of the field how they grow', somehow, in verses such as these and a hundred others that come to the mind, I find a kinship with India, instinctive and immediate. And above all, in the whole conception of 'Resist not evil,' 'Love your enemies,' 'Overcome evil with good,' we are taken back into the very atmosphere in which the Buddha lived and moved and had his being. There is very little to compare with them in earlier Hebrew literature, and certainly nothing that I know in Greek.\*

But India,—the India that I have come to know and love,—actually *lived* those truths, in countless lives of men and women, centuries before Christ; and India *lives* them still to-day in a great measure. What can this mean except that Christianity has its roots in Indian soil, and that India is a mother of the human spirit in this, as also in other ways? And I myself, like a wilful child, with all the aggressive temperament of the West, came out to teach and to instruct, rather than first of all to study and to learn. Little by little, I have found out the shallowness of my former position, and India, the Mother, has been tender towards me and has not rejected me.

"All this I really ought to have seen and understood long ago. From your point of view, it must seem very commonplace. But the *maya* of the Western supremacy was upon me, and the spirit of pride at first darkened the eyes of love. Still further, there was the granite moun-

tain wall of hard prejudice to be tunnelled through, fixed and immovable in its Western setting. Only the light could enter, when the rocks of hereditary traditional teaching had been pierced through and through.

"I had seen, as it were, upon the surface of the rocks the fossil remains of the past, connecting the two religions,—Buddhism and Christianity; for I had been a close student of history, and on this subject of comparative religion my reading had been wide. These fossil remains might have told me, if I had looked at them with unprejudiced eyes, the true 'origin of species' in the religious lineage of mankind. But the dogmas in which I had been brought up from my childhood in the West closed my eyes to facts and their interpretation. It was thus easy to overlook their meaning. I was in my 'Pre-Darwinian' religious days, and considered each religion of mankind to be a 'special creation',—a species entirely apart from the rest,—and Christianity itself to be separated off from all by an unfathomable gulf of divine revelation. Apart from India, I could not really understand.

"And you, my friend, have seen the true 'me' in me, all this while, in spite of all the wrappings of prejudice and conceit which folded me round. I long to be more worthy of this trust you have given me, and I know that I can only do so by being more honest and truthful within myself. Other aspects of the one Truth will come before me. The swing of the pendulum will go backwards and forwards. And in this inner life of religious thinking, which has gone through so many convulsions and upheavals, the oscillations on the surface will still be great, and at times even violent, leaving great seams and scars behind them. But the one central Truth is being reached all the while more and more certainly and surely. And whether our thoughts swing together as now they do, or for a moment diverge again, the Truth when reached will be one, binding us together more closely in One, if only we can reach it through love.

(To be continued)  
C. F. ANDREWS.

\* Since writing this, I have been able to study more carefully the later phases of Judaism before the birth of Christ and I find that the atmosphere in which Christ lived was tinged with these conceptions and they appear in Judaism itself,—see C. Montefiore's articles on 'Liberal Judaism' in the Hibbert Journal, and I. Zangwill's 'The Voice of Jerusalem'. But the question remains,—Did they not reach Western Asia from India, where they were the common place of religious thought centuries before?



## LETTERS FROM ABROAD

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

New York, Jan. 23, 1921.

I HAVE just come back from Greenwich, a suburban part of New York, where last night I had a reception and a speech and a dinner and a discussion, till I felt empty like a burst balloon, with no gas left in it !

At the far distant end of the wilderness of such trials as this, what do I see ?—But what matters it ? Results of our efforts delude us by appearing as final. They raise expectation of fulfilment and thus draw us on. But they are *not* final. They are roadside inns where we change our horses for a farther journey. An ideal is different. It carries its own progress within itself. Each stage is not a mere approach to the goal itself.

Trees proceed on their upward career, not along a railway track constructed by engineers. We who have been dreamers should never employ coolies to build railway lines of social service. We must solely deal with living ideas, and have faith in life. Otherwise we are punished, punished not necessarily with bankruptcy, but with success—behind which sits the Mephistopheles of worldliness, chuckling at the sight of an idealist dragged through the dust by the chariot of the prosperous.

What has made us love Shantiniketan so deeply is the ideal of perfection, which we have tasted all through its growth. It has not been made by money, but by our love, our life. With it, we need not strain for any result ; it is fulfilment itself,—the life which forms round it, the service which we daily render to it. Now I realise, more than ever before, how precious and how beautiful is the simplicity of our Asram, which can reveal itself all

the more luminously because of its dark background of material want. I know that I am harping on this one subject in most of my letters lately,—because my suffering is continuous and profound. My soul is being choked in this atmosphere. But it is my *tapasya*. Let me not bring a fetter of gold back for my Asram, but freedom of spirit, with its wedded companion, Poverty,—the pure the simple, the tender, the austere.

Wellesley, Mass., Jan. 25, 1922.

I am going to read my lecture on The Poet's Religion tonight to the Wellesley College students. Tomorrow and the day after, I have to read two more lectures in Emerson Hall, Harvard. Boston is about an hour's journey from here. I went there last Sunday and I am going to stay there till the end of the week. Coming to Boston has been a great relief to me. I felt in New York like living in the planet Saturn, which has its crowds of innumerable satellites, but revolves some billions of miles away from the central source of light. I am home-sick for my beautiful earth, simple and tender, bathed in light and dressed in green.

Just at this point, I was called away to dinner and then to the meeting ; and after it was over, we motored back to Boston, where I am now. It is tiring work,—the more so because my heart is hungering day and night for wide space and leisure,—that sumptuous feast of the soul, which has been mine from my infancy.

I am suffering from the great discomfort of having my feet on the decks of two different boats,—as the Bengali proverb has it. The organiser in me is planning to raise funds. I have with



all my heart this wretched organiser, —this disciple of the West. I have my profoundest faith in the Sanyasi in me, which is urging me constantly to leave these shores. Yet the organiser in me is claiming the best sacrifice of my life and getting it.

My anxiety is growing stronger every day lest we should lose the least fraction of our independence or naturalness at Santiniketan, lest our responsibility to some dead cash interest, consciously or unconsciously, shall lessen our responsibility to the living ideal. All real creations must have freedom for their growth. You can never make truth serve you, fettered like a galley slave. Whenever we receive material help from others, we acknowledge at the same time their expectation. Such expectation is a tyrant, imposing on us a tacit obligation to satisfy it. But all creative worth is jealous of its right of spontaneity, so much so, that the artist himself must not be over conscious of his plan.

Our Shantiniketan has never followed any conscious plan of ours, but has followed its own inner life process. This freedom of vital function is far more valuable than external resources. Truth never condescends to tempt us with allurements. She dwells silent in her majesty of sublime simplicity. It is untruth which tries to decoy us with extravagance of materials. I earnestly wish we had power to create a *tapovana*, rather than to build up a University. But unfortunately, money though scarce may be available; but where is *tapasya*?

Pearson is away. My correspondence and other works have grown heavy: and therefore you will have to bear with me, if my letters become scarce or scrappy.

New York, Feb. 2, 1922.

After a break of three weeks and a sultriness of weary waiting, your letters have come in a downpour; and I cannot possibly tell you how refreshing they are! I seem to be travelling across a desert, and your letters are like weekly provisions dropped by some air-service from cloud-land. They are expected; and yet they

have the element of surprise. I hungrily attack them and then fall upon extra portions supplied from your letters written to others.

Your letters are delightful, because you have your interest in details that are generally overlooked. The world is made beautiful by the unimportant things. They furnish this great world picture with all its modulations of shades and tints. The important is like the sunshine. It comes from a great source. But the unimportant composes the atmosphere of our life. It scatters the sun's rays, breaks it into colours, and coaxes it into tenderness.

You have asked for my permission to abolish the matriculation class from our school. Let it go. I have no tenderness for it. In our classical literature, it was the strict rule to give all dramas a happy ending. Our matriculation class has ever been the fifth act in our Ashram, ending in a tragedy. Let us drop the scene, before that disaster gathers its forces!

I am enclosing with this a translation, which runs thus:—

#### WOMAN

The fight is ended.

Shrill cries of loss trouble the air,  
The gains, soiled and shattered,  
are a burden too heavy to carry home.  
Come, woman, bring thy breath of life.  
Close all cracks with kisses of tender green,  
Nurse the trampled dust into fruit-  
fulness.

The morning wears on;  
The stranger sits homeless by the road-  
side playing on his reed.  
Come woman, bring thy magic of love!  
Make infinite the corner between walls,  
There to build a world for him,  
Thine eyes its stars, thy voice  
its music.

The gate-door creaks in the wind.  
The time is for leave taking at the day's  
end,

Come, woman, bring thy tears!  
Let the tremulous touch of thy hand call  
out its last lyric  
From the moment of parting.  
Let the shadow of thy sad gaze  
Haunt the road across the hills.



The night deepens ;  
The house is empty ; its loneliness aches  
                                with silence.  
Come, woman, bring thy lamp of vigil !  
Enter thy secret chamber of sorrow,  
Make the dark hours quiver with the  
                                agony of thy prayer.  
Till the day dawns in the East.

New York, Feb. 5.

The civilisation in the West is a magnifying glass. It makes the most ordinary things hugely big. Its buildings, business, amusements, are exaggerations. The spirit of the West loves its high-heeled boots, whose heels are much bigger than itself. Since I came to this continent, my arithmetic has become absurdly bloated. It refuses to be compressed within decent limits. My ideal money bag out here can easily put to shame D— and K— Babu tied together. But I can assure you that to carry such a burden in my imagination is wearisome.

Yesterday, some Shantiniketan photographs came by chance into my hands. I felt as if I was suddenly wakened up from a Brobdignagian nightmare. I say to myself “আমাদের শান্তিনিকেতন” (our Santiniketan). It is “আমাদের” (our) because it has not been manufactured by machine. It is truth itself,—the truth which loves to be simple, because it is great. Truth is beautiful,—like woman in our own country. She never strains to add to her inches by carrying extravagances under her feet. Happiness is not in success, not in bigness, but in truth.

What makes me feel so sad, in this country, is the fact that people here do not know that they are not happy. They are proud, like the sandy desert, which is proud of its glitter. This Sahara is mightily big; but my mind turns its back to it, and sings:

I will arise and go now, and go to

Innisfree, \*

And a small cabin build there,  
 of clay and wattles made ;  
 Ninebean rows will I have there,  
 a hive for the honey bee  
 And live alone in the bee-loud glade.

In the modern time, with all its facilities of communication, the access to Innisfree has become most difficult. Central Africa opens its secret to the inquisitive man, and also the North and the South Pole,—but the road to Innisfree lies in an eternal mystery.

Yet I belong to that "Isle of Innisfree": its true name is Shantiniketan. But when I leave it, and cross over to the western shore, I feel occasionally frightened lest I should lose my path back to it.

Oh! but how sweet is our *Sal* avenue,  
the breath of autumn in our *Shiuli* groves,  
the rainy evening resonant with music in  
Dinu's absurd little room:

And I shall have some peace there,  
     for peace comes dropping slow,  
 Dropping from the veils of the morn-  
     ing to where the cricket sings ;  
 There midnight's all a glimmer and  
     noon a purple glow,  
 And evening full of the linnet's  
                                     wings.

New York, Jan. 29, 1922.

I have just read a letter published in প্রবাসী ( Prabasi ) by one who is at the Ashram and it has deeply hurt me. This is the ugliest side of patriotism. For in small minds, patriotism dissociates itself from the higher ideal of humanity. It becomes the magnification of self, on a stupendous scale,—magnifying our vulgarity, cruelty, greed; dethroning God, to put up this bloated self in its place.

The whole world is suffering from this cult of Devil worship in the present age, and I cannot tell you how deeply I am suffering, being surrounded in this country by endless ceremonials of this hideously profane cult. Everywhere there is an antipathy against Asia ventilated by a widespread campaign of calumny. Negroes are burnt alive sometimes merely because they tried to exercise their right to vote, given to them by law. Germans are reviled. Conditions in Russia are deliberately misrepresented. They are furiously busy building their towers of political civilisation



upon the quagmire of mob psychology, spreading over it a crust of deliberate lies. These people have to subsist upon a continual supply of hatred, contempt, jealousy and lies and lies and lies !

I am afraid I shall be rejected by my own people when I go back to India. My solitary cell is awaiting me in my Motherland. In their present state of mind, my own countrymen will have no patience with me, who believe God to be higher than my country.

I know such spiritual faith may not lead us to political success ; but I say to myself, as India has ever said, "ততঃ কিং ?" ( even then,—what ? )

The more I live in this country, the more I understand the true meaning of emancipation. It is for India to keep her breast supplied with the true *amrita* of wisdom, with which to feed the new-born age and nourish it into a mighty future.

The ideas to which politicians still cling belong to a past that is doomed. It is a wreck rushing towards annihilation. The West is beginning to have doubts about its shelter, but its habit of mind is preventing it from leaving the old shelter for a new one. But we unfortunate creatures are getting ready to jump into the stream and swim across to the sinking ship and fight for our place at its corner. But I know that our huts are safer than that doomed and drifting monster. I long to live in the heart of the শান্তি, the Peace.—I have done my work, and I hope that my Master will grant me leave to sit by Him, and not to talk, but to listen to His own great silence.

Houston, Texas, Feb. 13, 1921.

And to the chariot wheels of *karma* we flit from one birth to another. What that means to the individual soul I have been made to realise in these last few days. It is my tyrant *karma*, which is dragging me from one hotel to another. Between my two hotel incarnations I usually have my sleep in a Pullman Car, the very name of which suggests the agency of death. I am ever dreaming of the day

when I shall attain my *nirvana*, freed from this chain of hotel lives, and reach utter peace in Uttarayana\* !

I have not written to you for some time. For I am tired to the profound depth of my being. Yet, since coming to Texas, I have felt as it were a sudden coming of Spring into my life through a breach in the ice castle of Winter. It has come to me like a revelation, that all these days my soul had been thirsting for the draught of sunshine poured from the beaker of infinite space. The sky has embraced me, and the warmth of its caress thrills me with joy.

The people here in Texas have had the leisure and opportunity of storing this sunshine in the cellar of their hearts,—they are human and hospitable. However, the time for our departure from this country is drawing near.

New York, March 18, 1922.

I wish that I could be released from my mission. For such missions are like a mist that envelopes our soul,—they seem to shut us off from the direct touch of God's world. And yet I have such an immense hunger for this touch. The spring-time has come,—the sky is overflowing with sunshine. I long to be one with the birds and trees and with the green earth. The call comes to me from the air to sing, but wretched creature that I am, I lecture,—and by doing it, I ostracise myself from this great world of songs to which I was born. Manu, the Indian law-giver, enjoins us not to cross the sea. But I have done so : I have sailed away from my own native universe,—from the birth place of those morning jasmines, from the lotus lake of Saraswati—which greeted me when I was a child even as the finger touch of my own mother, and now when occasionally I come back to them, I am made to feel that I have lost my caste,—and though they call me by my name and speak to me, they keep themselves apart.

I know that my own river Padma, who has so often answered to my music with an amused gleam of tender tolerance in



her face will separate herself from me behind an invisible veil, when I come to her. She will say to me in a sad voice: "Thou hast crossed the sea!"

The losing of Paradise is enacted over and over again by the children of Adam and Eve,—we clothe our souls with messages and doctrines and lose the touch of the great life in the naked breast of Nature. This my letter, carrying the cry of a banished soul, will sound utterly strange to you in the present-day India.

We hold our mathematical classes in Shantiniketan under the *madhavi* bower,—is it not good for the students and others that, even in the busiest time of lessons, the branches overhead do not break out into a shower of geometrical propositions? Is it not good for the world, that poets should forget all about the resolutions carried at monster meetings? Is it not right, that God's own regiment

of the useless should never be conscripted for any military contingency of the useful?

When the touch of spring is in the air, I suddenly wake up from my nightmare of giving 'messages' and remember that I belong to the eternal band of good-for-nothings; I hasten to join in their vagabond chorus. But I hear the whisper round me: "This man has crossed the sea," and my voice is choked.

We are leaving for Europe tomorrow and my days of exile are coming to an end. Very likely my letters will be fewer in number from now, but I shall make up for this when I meet you in person under the shadow of the rain-clouds of July.

Pearson is busy seeking health and happiness, making himself ready for the time when he will join us in India in the cold season.

## THE EAST AND THE WEST

### *Should There Be A Conflict?*

BY T. V. SESHAGIRI AYER, M.L.A.

THE world is large enough for all of us and for a great many more. Even if its productivity is more intensive than the figures of the last Census warrant us in hoping, even if the world is made more safe for its denizens,—notwithstanding wars and epidemics, crashes in the air and collisions in the sea, and earthquakes and train-disasters, there is room enough for expansion. India alone can shelter twice its present population, if its arid areas are fertilised by the wasted waters of its great rivers. The whole African continent, Canada, Australia and Russia have yet to be fully peopled. There are many wilds unexplored. Many regions untouched. Surely, there is enough for man to do if he would only live and let live. But that is not as he conceives his vocation to be. The beast in him has not died out. Centuries of pseudo-civilisation has not wiped out the

original taint. He is, either like the father tiger, endeavouring to devour his own children, or like the cannibal on whose iniquities he wastes so much ink and paper, is always on the prowl against less favoured neighbours of his. Religion has done him no good. His appetite grows on what he is feeding on, and he is never at ease until he has coveted what his fellowman possesses.

Never was this depraved tendency in man brought home to me more forcibly than when I read to the end "His Father's Daughter" by G. Stratton Porter. There is nothing in the plot which one may not find in thousands of the penny catchbooks which adorn a Railway bookstall. Its distinction is in its political setting. As I read it through, it seemed to me to be a clarion cry for rousing up the Western nations against the people of the East. America and Europe are cautioned



against the wiles of the sons of Asia. Their tendency to multiply is deplored: there is a tirade against the want of motherliness in the modern civilised female of the Western countries. The panacea preached in England at one time to the peasant was three acres and a cow. Mrs. Stratton Porter's prescription against the possible domination of the West by the East is that every woman should nerve herself to produce at least six healthy children.

The plot of the novel is very simple. The heroine is a girl, a very fine specimen of humanity which would have secured the whole-hearted encomium of Mrs. Humphrey Ward. She is still a school girl (17 years old) when the story opens. She is arrestingly original, forward without losing femininity, unconventional as to her wear, but intensely womanish in her predilections; she is absorbingly patriotic. The villain of the piece is a Japanese student in the same school. His misfortune is that he is at the head of the class. Miss Strong (she is the heroine) takes an instinctive dislike to the Jap. She cannot allow this yellow-faced foreigner to dominate over the boys of her own race. She wakes up in an easy going American student race jealousy. She is bent upon making the Jap find his own level. Notwithstanding her admonition to the American youth not to swerve from the path of rectitude and honesty in endeavouring to supersede his rival, I cannot help saying that there is no sin known to man which she is not laying at the doors of the Asiatic. He is said to have joined the class by understating his age; he is believed to be employing agents to murder his class-mate because of the fear of his losing his position in the class: he is actually detected in the act of letting lose a boulder to hurl his class-mate to death. Now this kind of writing can have but one effect: Race antagonism will be roused; and, the distrust will be reciprocated.

The measure of the Jap (the author makes it clear that the estimate is true of all Asiatic peoples) is taken with some care: (a) "He has got a brain that is hard to beat." (b) "He is quick and he knows from his cradle what it is that he has in the back of his head." (c) "Take them as a race..... they are mechanical, they are imitative." (d) "They are not creating anything of their own in their own country."

.....they are not creating one single thing." The advice to the American student is to study them, to play the game fairly, but to beat them in some way, in some fair way; to beat them at the game they are undertaking.....you have got to be constructive." A passage which seems to sum up the philosophy of the author is worth quoting in full: "The Eagle dominates the hawk; the hawk, the falcon; the falcon, the raven; and so on.....we go a step ahead of the wild..... And I want to see the white boys and girls of Canada, of England, and of Norway and Sweden and Australia and all the whole world doing exactly what I am recommending that you do in your class." Of course the whole world is the white world.

Now, one may ask, why this undisguised hatred? What has been the work of the people of the West in the continent of Asia?—in India, China, Japan, Manchuria, and what is it now in Africa? We need not complain of covetousness or of spoliation. Why, I ask, should not the Asiatic try to learn something from the white man? The intolerance displayed in the book is not the vapouring of a solitary overwrought individual; apparently, she is only voicing the sentiments which not one nation alone, but many entertain.

The etiology of this disease is worth studying. At one time the Jap, the Chinese and the Indian were patronised. I do not think that the Indian is in his place here. However that does not matter. The white man, the trader first, the missionary next, the battalions third and orderly Government afterwards came in as guide, philosopher and friend. He was welcome. Internal dissensions, in indulging which Asiatics are proficient, made the welcome real. The Westerner flourished, and to his credit it should be said, he helped the coloured man to live an orderly life. In some instances he had only a safe port from which he offered counsel and assistance. In other cases, he became the master of the whole situation. From the outset his declared object was to raise up the Asiatic, to civilise him and ultimately to enable him to govern himself. The early stages of the promise were honestly observed. When the last stage was in sight, there has always been a gnashing of the teeth and references to the "hard fibre that won the Empire" and to the determination to employ force to maintain it. The Jap very



soon freed himself from domination. He showed remarkable aptitude to benefit by what he has learnt from his foreigner teachers. The Chinese is struggling to achieve the same object. The Indian, with a longer record of weakness, submission, listlessness and with a longing to get away from the ills of life by penance and renunciation, is slowly waking up. He finds it impossible to sleep. The din of voices around him compels him to make an effort. He asks for some share in the administration of his country. He looks longingly at Japan, at Egypt. He wants that in East and South Africa he should be treated like a man. All these have got on the nerves of the Westerner. He condemns the whole brood of coloured people. He rails against them for ingratitude, he threatens them that they shall have to go back to the days when they were content to eat the crumbs thrown to them from the plentiful table. This is the pervading view among an unthinking section of the people of the Western countries. Men of honour, of foresight and statesmanship take a different view, but when mischief-mongers are on foot—the voice of the wise is easily drowned. The danger is not imaginary, because Mrs. Stratton Porter is the mouthpiece of many who think and speak as she has written.

May one ask these people to take a dispassionate view of the situation? If closely analysed, the position is this, the white man thinks that it is his prerogative to rule the Asiatic, that any infringement of this privilege is a sacrilege. He should be the undisputed arbiter of the destinies of the coloured races. Is this anything more than a return to the eagle, hawk and falcon theory? The falcon should not get stronger than the hawk and the hawk should yield itself to be whooped down by the eagle. The white man's burden is only a pontifical version of this simple principle. Of what avail will be President Harding's naval policy and Mr. Lloyd George's non-aggressive pact for a ten years' peace among nations, if the poison of hatred against the Asiatic is allowed to permeate the white races? What is wanted among the Western peoples is a sense of proportion in their ambitious designs, some sanity in appraising the worth and value of other nationalities and an inclination to abate to some extent at least the inordinate love of

power and the determination to lord over the Asiatic peoples.

The great war has devastated fair regions, has paralysed industry and has decimated thousands of men. The welter of blood is still in sight according to the Prime Minister of England. Is it prudent, is it wisdom to antagonise a whole continent at this juncture? Love and a desire to do to the Asiatic what the Westerner has done for himself should be the guiding principle of statesmanship. The Easterner has no desire to covet European territory. He only wants to be left in peace where he is and to be allowed to manage his own affairs as best as he can. It must be regarded as a great compliment to European civilisation that he seeks knowledge in the Western Universities, assiduously studies Western methods and adapts himself to Western institutions. Instead of feeling pride at this compliment, jealousy even at his multiplying faster than Westerners do is exhibited. It looks as if the Westerner is beginning to lose his head. These are premonitory signs of a serious disease. The prayer of the wisest among all the nations should be that a saner outlook than is discernible now may manifest itself among the white peoples, and that a feeling of comradeship and love may replace the present one of distrust and hatred. Rudyard Kipling's view that the "twain can never meet", has long held the ground. There are men among the Asiatic peoples who would be assets to the most civilised nation on earth. Others are slowly emerging from their slumber. The genius of the people, their literature and their traditions show that they have inherited tendencies of a high order. If the Western nations are wise, they should utilise to the full the services of these communities; otherwise there must ensue a combat which may be uneven at the beginning but which in the long run, if only by sheer strength of numbers, would render the position of Europe and America unbearable. Rivers of blood will have to flow before the contest terminates. This would mean the arrest of all humanising work, the engendering of fierce hatred, and the collapse of the fabric of civilisation which is the boast of the races of the West. May God prevent such a catastrophe and may He imbue men who are bent on rousing up all that is worst in both the peoples with a sense of fairness, tolerance and love!



## THE UKRAINE AND INDIA

BY AUGUSTUS SOMERVILLE.

THE present unrest in India and the political outlook in the Ukraine, have so many points in common that a review of the situation in that country, as it at present stands, will be interesting.

When the Armistice was signed on the 11th November, 1918, the average man fondly believed that a world peace had been established, that Mercy and Justice had come to abide and that the long looked for millennium was at hand. Subsequent events have, it is feared, completely disillusioned him.

The Treaty of Versailles is today an admitted failure. Why? Not because of errors in statesmanship, but to fundamentally unsound and unworkable concepts. When we analyse the treaties and follow the course of the negotiations, we immediately select the following five concepts to whose impracticability we attribute this failure. (1) Creating a league of nations whose charter provides for the permanent hegemony of five nations with widely divergent interests, (2) reserving the advantages of the treaties to a few nations but making all members of the league responsible for its execution, (3) treating the vanquished enemy as criminals, without right of counsel or appeal, but failing to provide the necessary restraint for limiting their activities, (4) denying the principle of reciprocity in contractual obligations, and (5) limiting the right of self-determination to a favoured few, and, as a natural result, striving to re-establish the old balance of power theory.

The refusal of the United States to participate in the discussions or to associate themselves with the Treaty of Versailles is now clearly understood. President Wilson stated definitely that the United States were not prepared to identify themselves with any international association which was not a league of all for the common good of all, and, later, Senator Knox contended that the actual aim of the Treaty was not the establishment of a world-wide peace, but the provision of a common vantage ground from which the principal powers could control the destinies of the lesser nations. The Ukraine is a typical example of the working of this policy.

The Ukraine stretches from the Carpathian Mountains to the Black Sea and the Caucasus. It is considerably larger than Germany and twice as large as France. It has a population

of about thirty-five millions, most of whom are concentrated in the six southern and south-western of the former Russian provinces, and in Eastern Galicia. The soil is naturally rich. There is an abundance of oil in Galicia and coal and iron in the famous Donetz region. The major portion of the cereals, cattle, sugar and salt exported from the late Russian Empire came from the Ukraine. If it survives the present political campaign and maintains its integrity as a race, it will be the most populous and the richest of the new States created by the War and, next to Russia, the largest country in Europe.

One is tempted to pause here and compare the Ukraine with India. The similarity is sufficiently striking. India has rightly been called "the gem of our Eastern possessions." The richness of her soil, the wealth of her produce, and last, but not least, her ever increasing revenue, makes her doubly so. And yet she is today, like the Ukraine, the one possession that causes us the most uneasiness.

The balance of power is the dominating feature in the foreign policy of every European nation. The cessation of hostilities brought into prominence that ever present question of the status quo of subject nationalities. The Ukraine with her aspirations for national self-determination loomed large on the political horizon, and the downfall of the Romanoffs and Hapsburgs made these aspirations possible. An independent Ukraine was unthinkable and the only answer of the Entente coalition was the Treaty of Versailles and the revival, in another form, of the old theory of the balance of power.

An insight into the political history of the Ukraine will be illuminating. The Russians before the War (1914) were divided into two distinct classes, or races, Great Russians (Muscovites) and Little Russians (Ukrainians). Historians, geographers, ethnologists and philologists are all unanimous in agreeing that the Ukrainians originated from a race distinctly Slavic in its racial characteristics and language and more nearly related to the Serbian than the Russian. To deny that the Ukrainians are a race distinct from the Russian is ridiculous, and yet this is precisely the attitude adopted by the late Russian Government and apparently supported by the greater European powers.

As to how far this policy was successful



History informs us. Paul Miliukoff in his speech before the Russian Duma on February the 24th 1914, said :

"All sides of Ukrainian life are penetrated by the nationalist element. At the same time, the Ukrainian movement is thoroughly democratic; it is carried on by the people. For this reason it is impossible to crush it. But it is very easy to set it on fire and in this way turn it against ourselves, and our authorities are successful in their work in this direction."

This was a confession of failure unprecedented in the history of Russification, and in view of recent occurrences in this country, bears a striking resemblance to the success of the anti-political movement adopted by the local Government.

To return, however, to the question of the Russification of the Ukrainians. Herbert Adams Gibbons, dealing with the same question, describes the situation in the following terms :

"The Great Russians began their attempt to assimilate the Ukrainians in 1690. They started with the Poles in 1830, and with the Finns only in 1900. Ukase after ukase was aimed by successive czars against the Ukrainians to compel them to abandon their nationality. The crowning edict, in 1876, suppressed the Ukrainian language altogether. Deprived of schools, of newspapers, of books, of the right of assembly, of the use of their mother tongue in the administration, in the law courts and in business, the Ukrainians contrived not only to keep intact their language in the home, but also to develop and enrich their literature. Patriots were exiled to Siberia or fled to Galicia. Just as Posen in Germany became the centre of Polish propaganda, Lemberg in Austria was the foyer of the Ukrainian nationalist movement. So successful was the preservation of the mother tongue, to the exclusion of Russian, that the agents of the British and Foreign Bible Society with the Russian Army at the time of the Russo-Japanese War reported to London the necessity of using the Ukrainian Bible in their work among the troops.

After the revolution of 1905, Lithuanian and Polish schools were allowed, but no Ukrainian schools. This proved which nationalist movement the Russians regarded as the most formidable of all.

The sixty-three Ukrainians elected to the first

Duma asked for autonomy and, pending that, a complete restitution of language and other rights. But the ukase of 1876 was only partly rescinded, and as M. Miliukoff admitted in 1914, the Ukrainian nationalist movement having permeated to the peasant masses, could not be stamped out. Petrograd kept a firm hand on the press, watched the Galician frontier for contraband literature, and acted rigorously in the matter of clandestine schools. But the Ukrainians found a means of propaganda that baffled the functionaries. The Government could not suppress the drama, folk-songs and national dances. When the war of 1914 broke out, more than three hundred theatrical troupes were the agencies of the national spirit in the Ukraine."

All the various nationalist movements throughout the world have many features in common. But to the unprejudiced reader the nationalist movement in the Ukraine and that in India have so many points in common, that the similarity appears quite remarkable. Setting aside the *modus operandi* adopted in this country for securing their political desires, the aspirations of the people, their ideals, are unquestionably those of self-determination. India with her wealth of mineral ore, her produce, her geographical situation, her very accessibility, makes her at once the centre of the commercial world. And yet, with all her natural wealth, her peoples are amongst the poorest on earth. Like the Ukraine her wealth has been exploited for the benefit of a favoured few. But today the position is changed. The lethargic indifference so characteristic of the average Indian has disappeared. The man in the street is alive to his own responsibilities. The spirit of national self-determination is on all the land, and its appearance has been welcomed by none more heartily or more genuinely than the "white man" who has made India his home, and the Englishman to whom the awakening of national ideals, the revival of its home industries and the stimulation of commerce in this land, is a source of mutual advancement, and the strengthening of that bond of commercial *bon homme* that is so essential a part of our international relationships.

## CAPITAL

FOR any economic or industrial development, whether large or small, capital is needed.

In theory, the production of raw materials does not cost much except labour, but the agriculturist cannot get anything out of his raw materials until they are ready for the market and he has got to live in the mean-

while. It is true that he gets advances of money, but those advances come from the money-lender, who is also generally the middleman for the buyer, and sometimes direct from the buyer. In both cases, the person making the advance is interested in getting the produce below the normal market rates, and that is the main object of



his advance. The producer is not only thus compelled to dispose of his produce at a low price but has also got to pay interest on the money advanced. The gain of the *ryot* by the sale of his raw produce is thus rendered small and he can therefore hardly save anything, especially because out of his small gain he has got to support his family and feed his cattle during non-agricultural season, when there is no work for them in the fields, and also because he is dependent on other countries or distant markets for his necessities of life for which he has got to pay, as he does not make them himself, as he used to do at one time. This hand to mouth living is the cause of the poverty of India; the agricultural masses comprise the great bulk of our population and they have no money, at least no superfluous money.

#### BIG CAPITALISTS.

If India possessed owners of big capital in large numbers, and again if such capitalists were amongst the permanent population of the country, as is the case in other industrial countries, things would have been different. In all ages, however despised such a capitalist might have been by the labourers and by those who have got to borrow from him, he has nevertheless been a very useful man. He is very handy, for he can take great risks which the small capitalists cannot afford to take. Further, an individual big-capitalist-proprietor is satisfied with a comparatively small return per unit on a large sum of money invested by him in a single concern, which he may own to a very large extent, but on the other hand for the same large amount put in collectively in a concern by a number of small capitalists the return expected per unit is comparatively greater; for the smaller capitalists, taken separately, are individually not rich enough to sacrifice an immediate big dividend to allow of a good part of the revenue to be spent on improvements and in better wages in order to make the property sounder and safer.

We also know that if a concern is backed by a big capitalist, it at once attracts money from the smaller investors very largely.

Owners of large capital were, in the olden days, known as "*Seths*", and at the same time they were also "*Sowdagars*" (merchants and traders) and the most influential among them were attached to the courts of Rajahs, even of the later Nawabs. And these *Seths*

were also State treasurers in some cases, and advanced money even to the State when needed.

These men traded with distant markets and tradition tells us that they made long voyages to foreign countries and exhibited and sold Indian wares. Our productions of cotton and silk goods and other works of art fetched very high prices in foreign countries, and the wealth earned thereby and brought to and accumulated in India, was considerable. Money (gold and silver coins) and valuable goods were the means of exchange and the latter included precious stones, pearls and jewellery. The use of money was known in India from ancient times.

#### WHERE AND HOW TO GET CAPITAL.

But we are drifting away from the main issue and let us return to it. We want capital for both small and large developments, and the point is where and how to get it. We have already mentioned the usefulness of the holders of large sums, but rich men, in the Western sense of the word, are but a few in India, amongst whom count the mill-owners and merchant princes of Bombay, a few Ruling Chiefs and a few Maharaja-Zaminders.

Next to these, come the *Mahajans* (bankers) and *Banias* (traders) of Northern India, the "*Bhatias*" and "*Borahs*" of Bombay, the "*Chettis*" of Madras and the Marwaris. Formerly, excepting the "*Bhatias*" and "*Borahs*", the others were not content with the comparatively smaller returns the industrial concerns brought. But of late there has been a change; some landlords too have found money for industries, and money has also come from the Native States.

Next come the professional men and salaried officials, such as lawyers, doctors, the highly paid Government officials and officers, employed in mercantile concerns and railways, who by the reason of their larger income are able to save. Senior clerks, mechanics, petty dealers and other men with comparatively small incomes also subscribe to industrial concerns, but in very small sums, individually.

We have not mentioned the agriculturist; for he has hardly any savings, and when he has got any money he puts it in his land and that is better until he is able to save comparatively largely which however he cannot do at present.



Owing to small income the majority of Indians are not habitual savers of money, and their expenditure on small charities and on poorer relations and for marriages also prevents them from saving. From an economic point of view, a man who saves without being a miser, sometimes renders greater service and makes wider charities. His savings invested judiciously in a productive concern brings recurring benefits for men employed in such concerns, who can, in their turns, also save and use their savings in developing other concerns, and thus find work and food for a greater and increasing number of people; and some say a better form of marriage dowry or charity would be to transfer shares in a paying concern.

Then, our savings are invested also in gold ornaments and some of this gold requires to be brought out for our industries and productive works and firstly and foremostly in rural industries.

#### RURAL INDUSTRIES AND CAPITAL THEREFOR.

While on the one hand the rural industries of India are dying out and agricultural classes are getting more and more dependent for their necessities of life on foreign countries and are living from hand to mouth, the wealth of some people in and around big cities, where trade and industries are getting concentrated, is increasing. And this process of centralization, especially in and around port towns, has been, to some extent, responsible for the increasing number of foreign traders and manufacturers enriching themselves by utilising India's raw productions, labour, and wealth, along with some money of their own and the wealth thus made by them leaves the country eventually. The concerns promoted by them and run by them have drawn large sums from all parts of India, the use of which the local areas have lost.

The Holland Industrial Commission did not fail to point out that the manufacturing industries in India should be more evenly distributed throughout the country, and this will help the local producers and the local labourers to make more out of their produce instead of getting the bare and poor profit from the crops only, which practically amount to labourers' wages for raising the crops and a little more, but that is all.

The railways and the shipping agencies

claim that they have been the means of more even distribution of world's productions, requirements and wealth, but so far as India's rural areas and rural population are concerned we see that this wider distribution has been the means of . . .

(1) wiping out the rural non-agricultural industries and of throwing the ryots on the single precarious industry of agriculture;

(2) increasing the stress on land, which, on account of being cultivated continually instead of by rotation, loses its fertility;

(3) taking away from the local population the wages of manufacturing some of their wheat into flour or oil-seeds into oil;

(4) making the ryots lead an idle life for four months in a year when they could be usefully employed in manufacturing their own cloth, instead of importing and paying for foreign cloth and thus reducing their savings;

(5) taking away nutritious cattle food in the way of oil-cake by export of oil-seeds.

First of all we want to revive and build up rural industries, and when the rural population starts making money by handicrafts, money will be forthcoming in India for the bigger and power-driven industries, but in the beginning we want capital for developing and creating rural industries. And some of this capital can be brought out in the shape of gold ornaments. If the local Government Agricultural and Industrial Departments and the local district people—both officials and non-officials, local landlords and the local bankers combine together, and the people know that the Government would be taking interest, capital in this manner will be forthcoming, and in addition if there is gold currency in India the turning of gold, that now exists in the shape of ornaments, into coins and the retention of such gold in the country will be helped. We will deal with this latter point more fully when we come to the currency question.

Attention may first be directed to the creation of centres for a group of villages, where a number of *charkas* (spinning wheels) and handlooms could be concentrated and cotton supplied to them. Then next, small plants driven by oil-engines may be introduced for pressing oil seeds into oil and for milling wheat into flour. Further, the creation of co-operative centres for dealing with and preparing for market the produce of small farmers will be useful, and



attached to more important ones of such centres there may be factories for canning fruits and drying vegetables. Small irrigation schemes, for catching and utilising rain water that runs waste, and for digging wells and tanks for selling water to ryots, may be promoted. Creation of farms for rearing sheep for producing wool and weaving country blankets, in spinning wheels and handlooms too, will be profitable. Then the Registrar of Co-operative Societies and Local Government Industries Department may devise and improve the means of advertising the local products. Small engineering workshops in each district with a few machines and a blacksmith department may be developed gradually, beginning being made with important centres from where work goes out at present to distant places.

#### SCOPE OF ZAMINDARS.

Zamindars (landlords) can become very useful if they co-operate with their ryots in enabling them to obtain a better price for their produce, and if for this purpose they build their own *arhats* and godowns and, where there funds allow, put up small plants (oil-driven) for crushing and pressing oil-seeds and for milling flour they will not only benefit themselves but save their ryots from the clutches of money-lenders. And the profits thus earned by the Zamindars, by acting as middlemen, may be utilised by lending money to the ryots at more reasonable and lower rate of interests than that now exacted by the money-lenders.

#### CURRENCY.

We generally have a favourable balance of trade in connection with our foreign trade, but as we export raw materials we (especially our ryots) *do not make much out of our raw products per unit and per individual*. But if we increased our manufactures and exported them we would substantially increase this balance of trade, and *the gain per individual and per unit in India would be much greater*. If we milled our wheat into flour only to the extent of half our exports of raw wheat, India would be gainer by three crores of rupees a year. If, therefore, we increase our production of manufactured goods, for which protective tariff would be most useful, there will be a rise in the value of our exports and so the manufac-

ture of our own cloth will reduce the value of our imports. We should then be very greatly benefited by gold currency, although it would benefit us even now. We could demand direct and separate payment for balance of our trade from each country and in gold, and do our best to reduce our imports and increase our exports of manufactured goods. It is said when gold is not in use as currency in a country the chief demand for it in that country being thus removed, gold then goes to that country in limited quantities only. We also know that gold goes to that country (in fact the gold of the world moves to that country) which has gold currency. If we look to America we will find this. That country has gold currency and holds the great bulk of the gold of the world not only because of its vast resources but also on account of its gold currency. It is the presence of this gold in America that enables her to lend money to other nations, and because this gold is in America in the shape of money it creates exchange and increases the wealth as a contrast to our gold ornaments. We are told that a portion of the gold sovereigns that were brought to this country were melted and turned into ornaments and thus became stagnant. If this be so, what are we to do to prevent this and also to draw out the gold that lies in the shape of ornaments, and above all to see that we do not send away all the gold we thus bring out. Perhaps sovereigns are too much for a country like India, but gold money of say Rs. 5 ought to do. If we have five rupee gold coins in circulation, and currency notes of Rs. 10 and of lesser values gradually disappear and 20 rupee currency notes are more in circulation than the smaller ones, the danger of gold coins getting absorbed would be greatly minimised, if not entirely removed, as there will be then need for 5 rupee gold coins to be in constant circulation.

The small paper notes of values of less than the value of gold coins must decrease, and silver, copper, even nickel, should be used, only as fractions of the gold coin but gold must be the standard. The presence of gold coins in the country will remove the fear of Indian people of losing all their gold, and the necessity for Standard Gold Reserve Fund in England would be removed, and a great deal of money should be released for expenditure in India. At



present all the inconveniences of the silver currency is ours, and at the same time we bear the burden of the gold currency. The presence of gold coins will create confidence and will remove the "craze", if there is any such thing here, for possessing gold. To retain gold in this country it is essential that we should demand payment for our balance of trade in gold and increase this balance of trade by reducing imports of manufactured goods and by increasing exports of our manufactures instead of exporting raw materials only.

It is said that reduction of paper money automatically helps towards reducing extravagance of running a government, because when a government can create extra artificial money by stroke of pen, the process assists towards extravagance of a government as the tendency to economise becomes less. The multiplication of paper currency has been one of the causes of the rise in prices.

Then again the borrowings of the Government should be limited to productive expenditure, such as railway, irrigation, etc., and non-productive expenditure should as far as possible be not met of revenue. Experience has taught us that the holding of paper bonds, securities and promissory notes are greater losses than even the stagnant gold ornaments. The issue of each successive bond, especially for non-productive expenditure, on more attractive terms has considerably reduced the values of former securities and made them non-exchangeable except at very low prices. This is a great economic loss and these losses and the high expenses of running the Government will go on increasing so long as we have multiplication of paper currencies and extensive borrowing, through paper bonds and promissory notes.

#### EFFECT OF INCREASED TAXATION ON CAPITAL AVAILABLE FOR INDUSTRIES.

Any increase in taxation of a country

retards the development of industries. On the other hand increased taxation is a facility to meet increasing Government expenditure. But as late Mr. Gladstone observed, "all excess in the public expenditure is not only a pecuniary waste but a great national and, above all, a moral evil." And with every increase in public expenditure the tendency is to increase it further. We have seen large sums of increases in those directions during the past 3 or 4 years in heavy salaries paid to officials, and all this has to come out of taxation, which increases the non-productive expenditure and retards the power of the people to spend on industries. Although theoretically taxes fall heavily on the rich people, especially direct taxation, such as Income Tax and taxes on luxuries, yet the raising of railway fares, salt taxes, rates of freight on goods carried by rail fall on the poor. And also the Super Tax and other taxes on industries, and the decreased savings of the richer people who have to pay higher taxes, tell directly on industries, as the money that could be spared for productive works is reduced, and the retarding of the development of industries must mean less work for the poor and the labourers. We propose to deal with later on only one item of public expenditure, viz., on Railways and to show how through company agencies increasing high salaries are paid to officials. First the high salaries came on company managed State lines and then on State managed State lines. And the increased railway rates and fares, instead of encouraging the railways to economise will give them the facility to spend more and inducement to ask for further enhancements in railway rates and fares. The late Mr. Gladstone also said that the facility of reverting to and increasing the tax, whenever fresh expenditure was incurred, was the main cause for extravagance in a Government.

S. C. GHOSH.



## MOLIERE CENTENARY

## RAGING CRITICISM—MOLIERE THE POLEMIST.

**B**UT the conventional critics and jealous rivals growled furiously. Some discovered in the play a travesty upon pulpit sermons, others an attack upon the ethics of marriage! Even a confirmed libertine like Prince de Conti condemned it as "a licentious work offending good manners!"

This was too much for Moliere and in two successive pieces—the criticism of the *School for Wives* (June 1664) and the *Versailles Impromptu* (Oct. 1663)—Moliere vindicated his position and caricatured his critics. Aggressively propagandist as they are, these two plays yet surprise us by their remarkable vivacity. Here we find the orthodox poet Lysidas quoting his Aristotle to silence the artist, who, however, retorts effectively through one character: "You poets are amusing fellows with those *rules* of yours.....To hear you hold forth, one would think the *rules of art* were the greatest mysteries in the world, while, in reality they are merely a few simple observations which *good sense* has made upon elements that might destroy the pleasure one finds in such poems. The same good sense which once made those observations now continues to make them quite as readily without the aid of Horace or Aristotle."

Not stopping there Moliere goes forward to hold a brief for *Comedy as superior even to Tragedy*—a line of speculation that irritated many of his friends and specially the great Corneille:

"Indeed I think it far easier to soar aloft upon fine sentiments, beard fortune in verse, impeach destiny and arraign the gods—than to depict the ridiculous side of human nature or make the common faults of mankind appear diverting on the stage. When you paint heroes you make them what you choose; no likeness is sought in such fancy portraits. But when you paint men you must *paint from nature*; and if you do not make us recognise the men and women of our time, you have accomplished nothing."

The above extracts are sufficient to show how capable an advocate or a polemist Moliere was. But it provoked many scurrilous criticisms from professional rivals. In his "*Versailles Impromptu*" Moliere shows more impatience:

"They criticise my plays; so much the better; and Heaven forefend I should ever write any they would like! That would certainly be a piece of bad business for me."

These polemics through dialogues may not be

high art but they testify to the intensely *human* sensibilities of Moliere. He felt the insincerity of his critics. "All the world found the *School for Wives* wicked and all the world ran to see it!" It became the greatest stage success of Moliere's career—being played 32 times between the Christmas and the Easter. The receipts were also phenomenal, for "the ladies condemned and went to see!"

MOLIERE, THE MILITANT DRAMATIST:  
"THE HYPOCRITE."

This insincerity roused Moliere soon to pen one of the most relentless analysis of Social fraud, in his *Hypocrite* (*Le Tartuffe*) (May, 1664). As a picture of human duplicity and an analysis of sanctimonious humbug, the *Hypocrite* is probably unrivalled in literature. Yet the polemist or moralist in Moliere is so marvellously balanced by the supreme artist that the arch fraud neither degenerates into an inverted ethics (as it frequently happens in so many "problem plays") nor into an unredeemed unqualified inhuman devil like Shakespeare's Iago. The *Hypocrite* of Moliere with all his sublime cant and solemn self-deceptions remains to the last a *human* hypocrite. So he cries:

"Though devotee, I am none the less a man."

Racine records how the Jansenists thought that the Jesuits had been satirised in the comedy and the Jesuits flattered themselves that it was aimed at the Jansenists. In fact every one seemed to discover his neighbour caricatured—so intensely realistic, so relentlessly universal was the delineation of Moliere.

But appearing at a time when religious controversy was dangerously ripe, this masterpiece of dramatic portraiture was suppressed several times and mutilated in presentation and not permitted to be staged complete till Feb. 1669. Even then the title had to be changed and the Archbishop of Paris interdicted the piece! So Moliere had to pay for this grand crusade against Cant by being refused a Christian burial after his death! But crucifixion is the indispensable preliminary to apotheosis and Moliere's case cannot be an exception. Two passages in his preface are of great psychological interest:

"All the hypocrites have armed themselves against my comedy with appalling fury; yet they have taken care, not to attack it on the side which wounds them;.....following their praiseworthy habit, they have cloaked their interests with the cause of Heaven; so the *Hypocrite* on their lips becomes a play which



• Moliere's petition to Louis XIV, whom he cleverly extolled in the play as a "prince the mortal enemy of Fraud"—is full of noblest sentiments :—

"I believe that I can do nothing better than attack the vices of my time with *ridiculous likenesses*; and as hypocrisy is, without doubt, one of the most common, the most disagreeable and the most dangerous of these, I thought, Sire, that I was rendering a not unimportant service to the honest people of your kingdom."

It was really a passionate pleading. Louis was moved no doubt, but he had to suppress the play temporarily for *State reasons* and Napoleon is reported to have justified Louis on the same grounds.

#### MOLIERE, THE MILITANT ALLEGORIST : DON JUAN.

But to Moliere, as to all really great souls, reason is only reason. It is pure, unadulterated, human—almost synonymous with Nature. Anything that deviates from reason, from *Bon sens*, is *unnatural*. From this point of view Moliere appears, at the same time, as the precursor and the corrective of the eighteenth century Age of Reason. His reason was neither tinged with the *doctrinairism* of the Encyclopædists nor was it diluted with our modern civilised *sophistications* giving rise to State reason and church reason and so forth. With him there was no compromise with Reality. Hence the Philosopher-comedian proceeded almost immediately to examine the basis of the so-called "Pillars of Society." To do it openly would be dangerous. So he searched and found a splendid archetype in the traditional figure of Don Juan and based his play on a Spanish play by Tirso de Molina.

This semi-human, semi-legendary character has attracted the attention of a great composer like Mozart, a poet like Byron, and modern dramatists like Edmond Rostand (La dernière nuit de Don Juan) and Bernard Shaw (Man and Superman). Moliere used it in his own original way, making it (consciously or unconsciously who would say?) a veritable symbol of the crumbling "Pillars of Society"—the grand fearless monstrous "Patricians" parading the stage! The Don Juan of Moliere is a sort of incarnation of cynicism, audacity and infidelity. He gathers in his person all the vices and some of the virtues of the old dying nobility. He is perfect in fashion, witty in speech and captivating in conduct. Though a decadent, he conserves his ancestral courage: Confronted with the ghost of the general he had murdered, he cries out with a courage equalling to that of ten Macbeths :—

"No, no! It shall never be said of me, no matter what happens, that I am capable of repenting."

Thus Don Juan meets his fate unflinchingly. He believes in nothing, neither in God nor in Hell.

nor love, nor retribution—a portentous solitary figure, apparently transcending the weaknesses of humanity and the consolation of divinity—discovering in his sublime Egoism a *locus standi*, as it were, outside the Cosmos!

#### MOLIERE, MILTON AND SHAKESPEARE— PARALLELISM IN PARENTHESIS.

Though far removed from the burning lake, the thunder of heaven and the inferno (except in the last scene), the Don Juan of Moliere seems to work out the destiny of the Rebel Angel with more aesthetic consistency than that we notice in the epic of his English contemporary poet, Milton. The puritanic basis of Milton led him unconsciously to subordinate art to theology and to spoil thereby his splendid outline drawing of Satan in the opening cantos of Paradise Lost. Moliere stands closer to reality and works out the damnation of Don Juan in a manner at once more consistent and convincing. Hence while Milton's Satan gradually pales into insignificance, degenerating into a coward and a cheat; Moliere's Don Juan gathers round him an atmosphere of epic horror as the awful comet of social disintegration, crying out with his last breath as it were: "After me, the Deluge!" And the Deluge did come only a century after, in the form of the great French Revolution!

Moliere's Don Juan is supposed by some critics to be the nearest approach to a Shakespeare play. Yet it is difficult to discover the ghost of a reason thereto! That reminds us of the fact that the Ghost, as one of the *dramatis personae*, is a common factor. But which ghost—that of Macbeth or that of Hamlet? Preferably of Macbeth, for the Ghost of the murdered man joins the murderer in a banquet! But where are the other steps in the parallelism—the incoherent ravings of the unhinged Macbeth, the shriek of Lady Macbeth, the last consultation with the fateful witches and the ultimate surrender to Fate with apparent stoicism, through awful introspections?

Comparison may not always be odious but it is often precarious. Shakespeare is Shakespeare and Moliere Moliere. Their mentality is so different and their technique so dissimilar! In the supreme pieces of Shakespeare we find generally one or two characters, regulating and dominating the whole, covering the entire piece with their shadow; action is secondary, introspection everything. Hence it is possible to represent his plays through the extracts from his marvellous soliloquies. Hence his plays are, in practice, pruned and redressed by modern stage managers not always without dramatic justification. But any one who has witnessed the performance of a classical piece of Moliere, has felt that it is impossible to drop a single detail! The texture is organic, the development inevitably interdependent. Don Juan is no doubt the hero of the piece but one



consummate actor like George Berr in the Comedie Francaise and he would be convinced that the servant is as important as the master. In the language of Mon. Moland,\* we may say that the comedy of Moliere is "a world fully set in motion by the impetus of the main idea creating it and giving it life. All classes of Society pass in turn before our eyes."

"Yes, from the baffled creditor Mon. Dimanche to the country wenches with whom Don Juan is flirting—a veritable tableau of Rembrandt, perfect in drawing and *Chiaroscuro* (light and shade), secure in its apparent secularism yet divine in suggestion and implication, lacking perhaps in the gorgeous gold tint of Raphael or in the grandeur of Michael Angelo, yet none the less unique on its own intrinsic merit—such is a Moliere piece to which may very aptly apply Moliere's own lines in appreciation of the fresco of his friend Mignard:

"La fresque, dont la grace, a l'autre preference,  
Se conserve un éclat d'éternelle durée"

Differences between the works of Moliere and Shakespeare become more apparent in their respective treatment of the background and their management of the *minor characters*. Space would not permit a discussion of this very important but rather complicated problem. Suffice it to point out in this general paper that though accidentally one of the most prolific writers of dramas, Shakespeare stands by unanimous vote as the greatest *Poet* of the Renaissance. His heroes and heroinee may appear (as they do appear to ultra-modern critics like Maeterlinck and Shaw) as a little too theatrical, if not actually melodramatic—yet none would dispute the magnificent quality of poetry that gushes out of their souls. Hence in a Shakespeare classic the monologues are more organic and interesting than the dialogues, and the introspection more important than action. And above all—crowning all, remains the supreme glory of Nature, charming and playful, sinister and sublime—Nature balancing the characters and transforming them with a grandeur that is only Shakespearean!

In Moliere's works, on the contrary, this aspect of Nature is conspicuous by its absence. Here Nature is the whole human society with its Homeric procession of beggars and vagabonds, valets and servant girls, quacks and charlatans, pedants and prigs, upstarts and dandies—all crowding the canvas, inducing cross-currents, helping or hampering movement, developing the main characters which are never allowed to dominate the stage but only to play their allotted role in the drama as a whole. Hence there is less colour and more characterisation: less pathos, more dramatic detachment. We miss here no doubt that bucolic atmosphere and that lyric rapture of Shakespearean comedies. But what do we gain in return!

An ease that is unique—a balancing that is unrivalled—a realism and a naturalism that is the despair of even the ism-mongers of our days—a differentiation of types that become universal through their sheer concreteness—a veritable encyclopædia of common life and above all an apotheosis of the Commonplace: noblest truths, profoundest judgments coming from the ordinary children of the soil: Mascarilles and Sganarelles, spiritual cousins of Touchstones and Falstaffs—immortal creations of human comedy!

#### MOLIERE, THE MILITANT PHILOSOPHER POET: "THE MISANTHROPE".

If any piece of Moliere resembles Shakespeare's in spirit if not in form it is his *Misanthrope* which along with *Don Juan* and the *Hypocrite* form a grand trilogy of seventeenth century French theatre. Like Shakespeare, Moliere was a sublime plagiarist and a master transformer, so far as the plot of the plays were concerned: the plot of *Hypocrite* he borrowed from Scarron's novel of that name, *Don Juan* from Tirso de Molina, *Forced Marriage* from Rabelais and *George Dandin* from Boccaccio, to mention among others. Only in the case of *Misanthrope* we find Moliere original. But the originality in plot is the least part of it. In felicity of expression, in the faithful creation of atmosphere, in the dramatic use of background, in the balancing and perspective of composition, in vigour of characterisation and profoundness of philosophy, *Misanthrope* stands not only as the greatest work of Moliere but one of the very few masterpieces of the dramatic creation of humanity. To leave such a record in dramatic literature, already enriched by masters like Cervantes (1547-1616) and Shakespeare (1564-1616), Lope de Vega (1562-1635) and Calderon (1600-1681) is an achievement for Moliere indeed. In *Misanthrope*, Moliere creates for the first time a character *Alceste* which has ever remained the subject of wonder for dramatic critics and of despair for actors. Of course it was never a theatrical success so far as the selling of tickets is concerned. But from Boileau and Racine to Sainte Beuve and Alfred de Musset all great writers of France adored this work as the magnum opus of Moliere. To Boileau Moliere was above all the author of *Misanthrope*. And when Racine was informed that it had failed as a stage-piece, the poet is said to have exclaimed: "I don't believe it!" And Racine was not only a professional rival but had already quarrelled with Moliere.

Alceste, the misanthrope, appears as an impossible idealist let loose in a fashionable salon! He comes successively in touch with Oronte, a hopeless literary egoist, Philante, a champion of compromise and moderation, Arsinoe, a sanctimonious prude, and Celimene, an incorrigible flirt. The party is not very large, the plot is remarkably thin, and the denouement rather flat. Yet the whole action thrills with the

\* Life of Moliere.



tense, introspection of one character Alceste. In this respect he betrays a striking family likeness with Shakespeare's Hamlet. Both Alceste and Hamlet are profound souls and uncompromising idealists. Both are victims of human perfidy. The cases of both are cases of progressive disillusionment and the ultimate tragedy of apparently unmitigated hatred for humanity. The differences are no less patent: Alceste moves in a historical seventeenth century salon, while Hamlet moves on a semi-legendary atmosphere of court intrigues and murder, of ghost and retribution! There are more of stage-actions and stage-sensations in Hamlet: drowning of Ophelia, rapier duel with Laertes—things probably indispensable for an Elizabethan dramatist who wanted to rouse his somewhat stolid and hence sensation-loving audience. But drowning all rises the voice of Hamlet:

"To be or not to be that's the question."

Hamlet (or rather Shakespeare, because he wanted to make a tragedy!) preferred to answer the question in the *negative*. The vote was given for "not to be" and out go Polonius, Ophelia, Laertes, Hamlet, and "the rest is silence"! Alceste, on the contrary, managed to live through the ordeal; probably Moliere did not find sufficient justification for killing a hero on metaphysical grounds! Moreover the king and the French public wanted a comedy. So Moliere gave them a comedy indeed! It opens with a thunderous onslaught of the misanthrope on the hollow, insincere, treacherous courtesies of the so-called refined society where we find those—

"Too cordial givers of unmeaning love,  
Too courteous utterers of empty words,  
Who in smooth manners vie, treating true worth  
And any fopling with an equal grace!"

This recalls strongly to our mind Hamlet's terrific diatribe against the insincere *laughter* of mankind. But while in the case of Hamlet the cynicism is the result of an accidental though grievous personal wound, in the case of Alceste it is the result of a continuous observation and slowly formed conviction. So, while Hamlet's heart-rending laughter is already almost tinged with semi or pseudo insanity, there is perfect sanity about the laughter of Alceste. That presents such a striking contrast to the prevailing atmosphere of levity and hilarity that Alceste becomes, as it were, a *comic* in spite of himself! \* Stung by sarcasm or contempt he cries out in agony:

"—Upon my faith,  
It wounds me mortally to see how vice  
Is spared; into silent desert, far  
From man's approach; I am tempted to fly."

Both Hamlet and Alceste are reticent yet profound lovers: To save their beloveds from

the inevitable contamination of *Society*, they suggest means of escape that are curiously similar. "To the nunnery, go!" was the cry of Hamlet to Ophelia, while Alceste asked Celemene to come with him to "a desert, far from all mankind!" The death of Ophelia quenches the light out of Hamlet's heart, while Alceste bleeds to the end with a heart lacerated with wounds and cries:

"All my greatest efforts are in vain

Indeed, it is for my sins, I love you thus!"

Yes, it is the sin of loving too much—the sin of all great lovers: of Dante and Leonardo, of Moliere and Shelley! Hence Alceste, so vigorous in characterisation, so objective in delineation, is at the same time the centre of a sublime subjectivism of the great artist. We cannot forget that only a few months after the first representation of the *Misanthrope* (June, 1666) Moliere was forced to live apart from his wife (Dec., 1666). Armande Bejart, a giddy girl, frivolous and superficial, was a veritable cross of Moliere's life. So, if we find in Celemene a subdued study of Armande, we must admit that Moliere, as a Dramatist, had an equilibrium that is almost phenomenal. The deepest agonies of his life he depicted with a faithfulness and dramatic justice that is rarely equalled. Hence the inevitable *dualism* of *Misanthrope*: the subjectivism of the *Man* Moliere and the objectivism of the *Artist*—both fused with so much passion into such a marvel of repose, thrilling with such a depth of tragic calm that it will always stand as a deathless model of dramatic art. This dualism was brought out very ably through the splendid interpretation of *Misanthrope* by Jacques Copeau of Theatre Vieux-Colombier: There we find Celemene, the so-called incorrigible coquette, bursting the bounds of a stereotyped character and betraying traits that are so contradictory, so human! She realises the vanity of the polite life in which she moves, yet she cannot accept the offer of Alceste to leave society behind and to go to a desert! She shows no sign of dramatic conversion. Rather she shows her legitimate misgivings about an existence—may be very noble—yet entirely foreign to her! As a stage-heroine she may not have attained to a histrionic climax but she appears intensely human when she quietly walks out of the stage! So Alceste also silently passes out of sight—to find upon the earth some lonely place where one is free to be an honest man! All his militant zeal for reform, his prophet-like denunciations are over and he seems to lapse into a mysterious silence! Did he end in love or in hate? Probably both! Yes, the case of our *Misanthrope* reminds us strongly of Browning's lines\* on the author of the *Divina Comedia* :—

"Dante who loved well because he hated,  
Hated wickedness that hinders loving."

\* Cf. the brilliant parody of M. Courte-Courier in *Le Misanthrope*.  
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One Word More.



Hence in the last scene we seem to forget Moliere the Dramatist only to discover Moliere the Musician, playing the ineffable, voiceless symphony of hope frustrated and love baffled, of suppressed sighs and crushed tears suggesting a New Dawn—a *Vita Nuova*! Then Celestine appears as a veritable symbol of human suffering and Misanthrope is found to love Humanity with all the agony of an unrealised dream which his proud passionate soul defined only once:—

"My love will purge her Soul  
Of all the passing vices of the time!"

Here we witness the eternal tragi-comedy of the *Ideal* and the *Actual*—so conflicting yet so complimentary! Here if anywhere Moliere gives a point to "Shakespeare and we may agree with modern critics" who say that while "inferior in imagery and sublimity of conceptions" Moliere is "equal to Shakespeare in fecundity, and his superior in truth."

#### APPRECIATIONS—ANCIENT AND MODERN.

The opinions about Moliere and his works, like the opinions about all great writers, are as numerous and diversified as the critics who dipped into his writings. Contemporary judgments were conflicting as usual. His illustrious royal patron, Louis XIV, is said to have asked Boileau, "what great writer had most honoured his reign"—and the immediate reply was: "Moliere, Sire." "I think not," Louis replied, "but you know better than I." That shows the attitude of Louis XIV and Boileau. Then we know that La Fontaine had a real artist's admiration for a great artist. La Bruyere and Fenelon appreciated some points and condemned other traits—especially, Moliere's style. Bossuet,† had nothing but contempt for the comedian whose "place at the Holy Table was among the public sinners," and consequently according to Bossuet, "a Christian burial should be denied him." Voltaire realised the greatness of Moliere, yet his studies and criticisms were somewhat cold and condescending! Rousseau felt the overwhelming character of Moliere's humour and considered it "morally" dangerous!

The first unqualified acknowledgment of Moliere as a *classic*, and the first unstinted admiration as a man and a poet, came from the greatest creative artist of Germany—Goethe. Goethe, who encountered Napoleon and showed nothing but a Caesarian contempt for that Prodigious Gallic Barbarian, the same Goethe used to adore Moliere passionately till the last days of his life. We quote a few extracts from his conversations:—

"Moliere is so great that each time one reads or re-reads him, one finds a fresh astonishment. I look

upon him with the same veneration as on the engravings of the great Italian masters" (12th May, 1825)...

"What a man is Moliere! What a soul grand and pure! He governs the manners of his time whilst others allow themselves to be governed" (29 June, 1826).....

"I know and love him since my young days and I hold to him not only because of his artistic triumph but above all because of the *natural goodness* and the *high culture* of a poet's soul!" (28th March 1827).

That verdict pronounced at the beginning of the 19th century is strongly corroborated by another verdict of an authoritative critic of the 20th century: Mr. Ward, in his splendid monograph on Drama,\* remarks about Moliere: "He is the most versatile, the most sure-footed and the most consummate master of the comic drama whom the world had known."

By the side of these superlatives lavished by foreign admirers, the noble-prose rhapsody of Sainte-Beuve† appears to be quite sober though none-the-less profound and touching.

"Aimer Moliere!" "To love Moliere! by that I mean to love him sincerely and with the whole heart..."

To love Moliere—is to love health and the right sense of the spirit in others as well as in oneself!"

#### PERSONAL LIFE—A TRAGIC CONTRAST.

But when we turn from these public encomiums to the concrete details of his private life, we are shocked by the tragic contrast! A man with such an independence of judgment had to serve a king who was at his best but a noble autocrat. An artist of such a refinement of taste, had to humor the "gallery gods" in the triple capacity of dramatist, actor and manager! A philosopher of rare sanity and insight had to wear the mask of a *farceur*! A passionate lover of the Sublime and the Beautiful, had the misfortune to be tied to a woman that was the veritable cross of his life! In 1664 Moliere's first child was born and Louis XIV himself acted as the Godfather in the Baptism, but the boy died a few months after. His *Hypocrite*, though admitted by everyone as a masterpiece, had to be suppressed for State reasons—another tribute paid by Pompous Egoism to organised Hypocrisy! As a refuge from such shocks and as a source of mutual inspiration, Moliere organised (in 1664) the memorable circle with La Fontaine and Claude Chapelle, Boileau and Racine. In 1665 Moliere presented Racine's *Alexander* at his theatre but a few months after Racine ungratefully transferred the right of presentation to Hotel de Bourgogne without a single warning! In 1666 Moliere lost one of his most favourite pupils in the histrionic art—Baron—through the insulting behaviour of his wife

\* Cf. Taylor, pp. 277. Coquelin, Moliere et Misanthrope (1881).

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† Maximes et reflexions sur la comedie.

† Causeries du lundi."



Armande who soon left him. In 1667 Racine made a cowardly attack on Moliere by encouraging many of his artists to desert his theatre of Palais Royal. Soon after Moliere fell seriously ill and he lived for two months on milk diet, in a quiet retreat near Auteuil with his friend Chapelle drunk but devoted to the last! The theatre had to be closed for six months. In 1669 Moliere lost his father. In 1670 appeared the most venomous and scandalous attack on his life and character—*Elomire the Hypochondriac* written by Le Boulanger de Chalussay. In 1671 Moliere was reconciled with his wife through the intervention of some friends but the very next year he lost one of the oldest and staunchest of his friends Madeleine Bejart who died (1672) leaving practically everything she had for the benefit of Moliere's daughter and his children yet to be born. Moliere's name figures in her burial act—his last mute token of gratitude! His time was also fast approaching! In broken health, in exhausted spirits Moliere continued his double work of an author and an actor. He had lost all faith in cure, in medicine, in doctors. He was desperate. To crown all, the conspiracies of the Italian royal musician Lully and the hostilities of jealous Racine alienated Louis XIV for the time being. So while the dying Moliere was playing his masterpiece, *The Imaginary Invalid*, in Palais Royal Theatre, "the troupe of the Hotel de Bourgogne was playing Racine's *Methridates* before the ungrateful king!"\* On the day of the fourth performance of *Imaginary Invalid*, his wife Armande and his beloved pupil Baron implored Moliere "with tears in their eyes not to act that day; but his point of honour proved unalterable. 'There are fifty poor work people who live on their day's wage; what would they do if there were no performance?' exclaimed Moliere and went out to play for the last time! This last phase of Moliere's life has been dramatised with singular fidelity and pathos by the new play *Moliere* now being staged in Theatre Odeon. There we see Moliere already seized with convulsion in the last scene struggling with superhuman strength of his comic art to laugh death itself to scorn! Carried to his home on Rue Richelieu, in a semi-conscious state Moliere breathed his last (Feb. 17, 1673) muttering to himself: 'How much a man suffers before his death!' Thus Death also seemed to have been in a comic mood in carrying away the Great Comedian, surprised by a fatal stroke of malady while playing his *Imaginary Invalid*! And the pious society continued that comedy or rather tragi-comedy by refusing Moliere a Christian burial! Finally after four days of supplication, the greatest writer of France was allowed to be buried (Feb. 21, 1673) at the cemetery of St. Joseph with no pomp...with a

few friends following silently in the dark..... unaccompanied by Divine service! Moliere's widow is said to have cried out: "What! a sepulchre is denied a man worthy of altars?" And such was the end!

#### MOLIERE—THE LAST PHASE.

Thus we see that the last few years of Moliere's life was a period of progressive undermining of his body and mind. Yet, it is a period of prolific artistic creation. The flame of his genius burnt steadily to the last! And here we find unmistakable evidence of the triumph of Spirit over Matter. Even if we leave aside popular farces like *George Dandin* (1668, an amplified version of his earliest farce *La Jaloux du barbouille*) or the *Kascalities of Scapin* (*Les Fourberies de Scapin*, 1671); or gorgeous court-ballets like *The Sicilian*, or *Love as a Painter* (1667), *Amphitryon* (1668) or *La Comtesse d'Escarbagnas* (1671); or clever skits on the medical men like *Love as a Doctor* (1655), *The Doctor in spite of Himself* (1666);—we must admit that Moliere gives indisputable proof of unflagging creative power through four universally praised and eternally fresh pieces: *The Miser* (*L'Avare*, 1668), *The Burgher, a Gentleman* (*Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, 1670), *The Learned Women* (*Les Femmes Savants*, 1672) and the last, though not the least, the *Imaginary Invalid* (*Le Malade Imaginaire*, 1673). In a general popular paper it is neither possible nor desirable to discuss any and every piece of the Great Comedian. A bare statement of his achievements in the domain of dramatic creation is sufficient to convince us as to his title to literary immortality. Brunetiere voices the opinion of millions when he characterises the works of Moliere as "un fragment de nature et d'humanite sous l'aspect de l'eternite"—truly, a fragment of Nature and of Humanity in the aspect of Eternity!

I conclude by reciting the noble and passionate lines addressed to Moliere by Alfred de Musset† (probably next in rank in French drama and poetry):—

"J'admirais quel amour pour l'apre verité  
Eut cet homme si fier en sa naïveté!  
Quel grand et vrai savoir des choses de ce monde!  
Quelle male gaité, si triste et si profonde  
Que, lorsqu' on vient de en rire on devrait en pleurer!"

I admired: What a love for the hard Truth  
Had that man—so balanced in his simplicity!  
What a grand and true knowledge of the things  
of this world!

What a masculine gaiety, so pensive and so profound  
That when one goes to laugh one can't help crying.

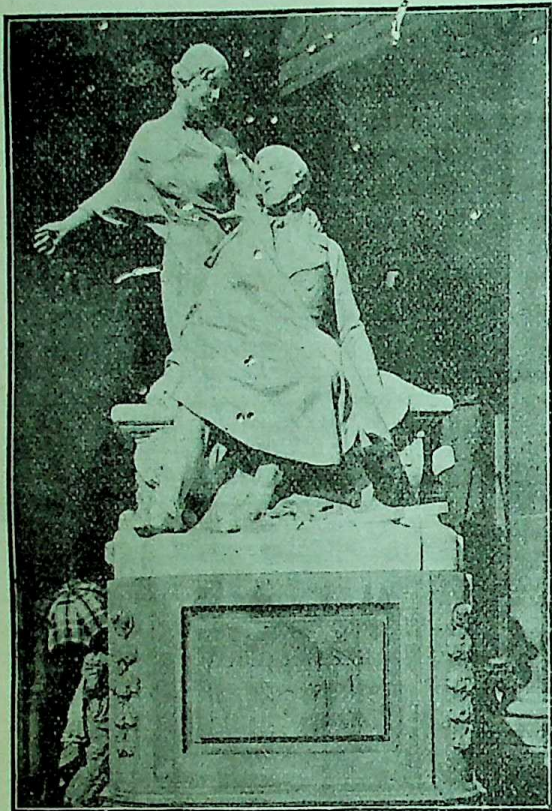
Let our tribute be sober, let it be sincere.  
Moliere's art is a permanent asset of Humanity.

\* L'histoire de la Littérature Française.

† "Un Soir Perdu."

\* Moliere by Chatfield Taylor





Alfred de Musset—A Monument at the Theatre Francais.

His life, as a creative artist, is a perpetual inspiration to his posterity. May both his life and art reveal their real significance to us and like a guiding star lead us along the path of

Eternal discovery of Truth through suffering that scorns not the Divine prerogative of Laughter.

".....Je suis ce que je suis. Rire ne m'empêche pas de souffrir; mais souffrir n'empêchera jamais un bon Français de rire. Et qu'il rit ou qu'il larmoie, il faut d'abord, qu'il voie."

".....I am what I am. Laughing does not prevent me from suffering but suffering never hinders a good Frenchman from laughing. And whether laughing or crying he must observe."—ROMAIN ROLLAND (*Colas Breugnot* 1914).

15th January, 1922.

KALIDAS NAG.

Paper read before the "Association des Hindous de Paris" in commemoration of the Tricentenary of Moliere.

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## LICE

BY CEDRIC DOVER, F. E. S.

THOUGH cleanly people now-a-days regard lice with the utmost abhorrence, and it is not uncommon to hear an Anglo-Indian mother say that her children have been in undesirable company when they have "nits" in their hair, they were not always objects to be shuddered at. In the time of the Stuarts, for instance, people used to joke about them and some even went so far as to be proud of finding

them on their person. Col. Alcock tells us that it was taken as a sign of consecrated grace in the "holy blissful martir" of Canterbury that the hair garments he wore next his skin were found to be seething with lice "like a boiling caldron"; and it was in an appreciative mood (Col. Alcock continues) that Sir Hugh Evans, in the *Merry Wives of Windsor* says not only that "the twelve white

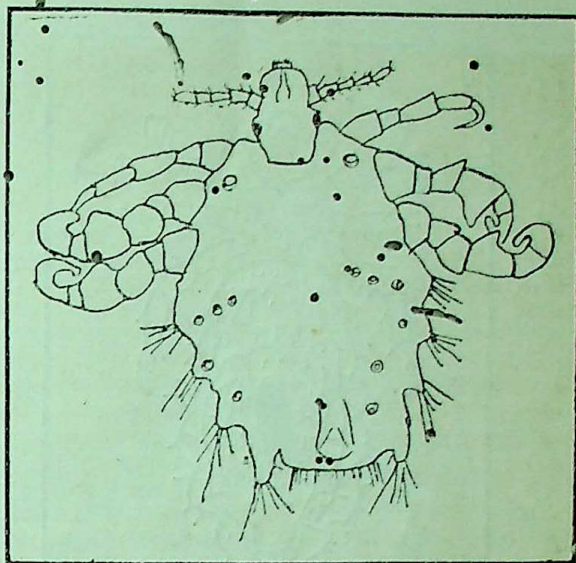


louses do become an old coat well" but also that "it is a familiar beast to man and signifies love". It is a belief among some of the poorer classes both here and in England that the presence of lice is a sign of productivity and good health, and as a consequence many people refuse to take any protective measures against lice for fear of becoming sterile and losing their robust health. In R. Hooke's *Microphagia*, an old book published in London in 1665, a description of the head-lice is introduced as follows:—"This is a creature so officious that 'twill be known to every one at one time or another, so busie and so impudent, that it will be intruding itself in every one's company, and so proud and aspiring withal that it fears not to trample on the best, and affects nothing so much as a crown; feeds and lives very high, and makes it so saucy as to pull any one by the ears that comes its way, and will never be quiet till it has drawn blood."

Leaving the reader to conjure up visions of certain aspects of domestic life during the reign of the "Merry Monarch", of which history leaves us more or less ignorant, I will now endeavour to give him a little information of a more useful nature, about these vermin which unlike most other parasites spend the whole of their existence on man.

It is perhaps some consolation to know that man is not exceptional in harbouring these insects, and most species of the Mammalia from camel to mouse are attacked by some member of this group of parasites. But like the fleas, the species that live on man are more or less peculiar to him, and it is probable that different mammals have different species of lice which are entirely and exclusively devoted to their particular host.

Most entomologists are now agreed that the lice belong to a separate order—the Anoplura or Siphunculata—superficially resembling the biting-lice (Mallophaga) from which they are mainly distinguished by the difference of the mouth-parts and



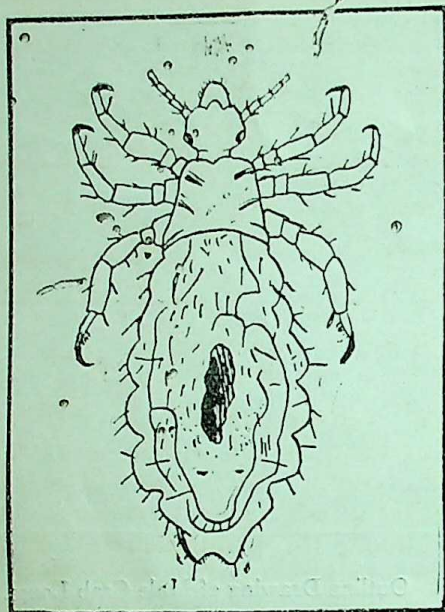
Outline Drawing of Male Crab Louse.

the claws; but they were, and are still, regarded by some competent authorities as a group of the Rhynchota or bugs. The Anoplura contain many genera, but in this article we are only concerned with two—*Pediculus* and *Phthirus*: of the first there are two species—*P. capitis*, the head-lice and *P. vestimenti* the body-lice of the second only one, *Ph. pubis* the crab-lice, which inhabits the pubic region of man, but is not entirely confined to it.

The oldest name for the head-lice is *P. humanus* the author of which was Linnaeus, who did not regard the body-lice as specifically distinct. They are now again regarded as varieties or races of a single species, the head-lice being known as *P. humanus capitis* and the body-lice as *P. humanus corporis*; but while admitting that this nomenclature is correct, as this article is not a strictly scientific one I have thought it best to give the creatures their common names.

Though difficult to rear in captivity the human Pediculi increase and multiply to an astonishing degree under favourable conditions, and wherever human beings are congregated together under conditions not strictly sanitary, they are sure to spread. *P. vestimenti* is the chief Anopluron parasite of human beings which





The Body-Louse. ( magnified )

spend their whole time or a large part of it, in an uncleanly environment. But though lice flourish best in dirty surroundings it must be understood that they do not arise from dirt as the uninformed, who still believe in spontaneous generation, think. No creature exists that is not the result of the union of a male with a female and every existent louse was hatched from an egg laid by a mother-louse and fertilised by a "daddy-louse." It might be well to mention here that lice have no metamorphoses : that is to say they have no caterpillar and chrysalis stage like the butterflies.

The structure of the mouth-parts of the Anoplura have interested the earliest entomologists and Swammerdam, Linnaeus Schiodte, Redo, and others have all given lengthy dissertations on the louse. But there was considerable difference of opinion among these authorities regarding the structure of these organs and even to-day the structure of sucking-tube is not clearly understood. In his book on Medical Entomology Col. Alcock gives a good short account of the mouth parts which I quote here. He writes :—"All that can be seen of the mouth-parts outwardly is a short and complete tube with

some dorsally placed recurved teeth : the function of this tube with its denticles is to hold the skin when the insect starts to suck. The rest of the mouth-parts are retracted within the head, in somewhat the same way as, only more completely than, those of the Hippoboscids flies : they have the form of a slender tube composed of the three very fine stylets, two of which lying dorsally are perhaps the mandibles, while the third which is ventral in position perhaps represents the two maxillae fused together except at their tip ; in repose this tube lies invaginated in a sheath beneath the pharynx ; in action it is far extruded, through the short outwardly-visible tube, for the purpose of piercing the skin and drawing blood. The most reasonable view to take of these ensheathed mouth-parts is that they are closely homologous with those of bugs, but are protectively intussuscepted when at rest."

The male-body louse is a tiny creature about 3 mm. long and 1 mm. broad, while its "better half" is somewhat larger. It varies in colour considerably : Andrew Murray states that those found on West African and Australian natives are almost black ; on the Hindu dark and smoky ; on Africans and Hottentots orange ; on the South American Indians dark-brown ; on the Mongolian races yellowish-brown ; and on the Esquimos light-brown, which comes nearest to the light dirty-grey colour of the parasites found on Europeans.

Mr. C. Warburton of Cambridge has recently succeeded in rearing *P. vestimenti* and *P. capitis* in captivity in the Quick laboratory of the University but only after a series of experiments had failed. One of the conditions of success was the close proximity of the human body, and the anchorage of the pests in some sort of cloth such as flannel. Sir Arthur Shipley of Christ College, Cambridge, writes that :—"He ( Warburton ) anchored his specimens on small pieces of cloth which he interned in small test tubes plugged with cotton wool, which did not let the lice out, but did let air and the emanations of the human body in. For



feared of breakage the glass tube was enclosed in an outer metal tube and the whole was kept both day and night near the body. Two meals a day were necessary to keep the lice alive. When feeding, the pieces of cloth, which the lice would never let go of, were placed on the back of the hand, hence the danger of escape was practically *nil*, and once given access to the skin the lice fed immediately and greedily."

Warburton found that a single impregnated female of *P. vestimenti* produced 125 eggs in the course of 25 days. The young which are tiny miniatures of the adult, feed immediately after emerging from the egg. They moult about three times, generally attaining maturity on the 4th day, but they do not perform their sexual functions till about four days later.

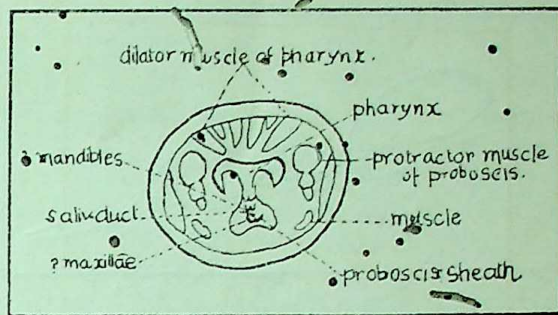
It is needless here to follow Mr. Warburton's experiments in detail. He summarises the life-cycle of the insects as shown by his experiments as follows:—

Incubation period : Eight days to five weeks.  
From larva to imago : eleven days.  
Non-functional mature condition : four days.  
Period of adult life : male, three weeks ;  
female, four weeks.

It should be remembered that these figures are only the result of laboratory experiments, and that in natural conditions the life-cycle may occupy a longer or shorter time, and that climate influences it considerably.

Mr. Warburton's work makes it clear that unless regularly fed body-lice perish very quickly and that the young can only live 36 hours at the utmost without food. It might be of interest to mention that he found at the commencement of his experiments that the body-lice is capable of living longer under adverse conditions than *P. capitis*.

The head louse is a somewhat smaller creature than the body louse, the female being about 1.8 mm. long and 0.7 mm. broad. They are generally of a cindery-grey colour, but like the body louse, vary considerably. They are usually found on the heads of uncleanly people ; and school children—especially girls in India very



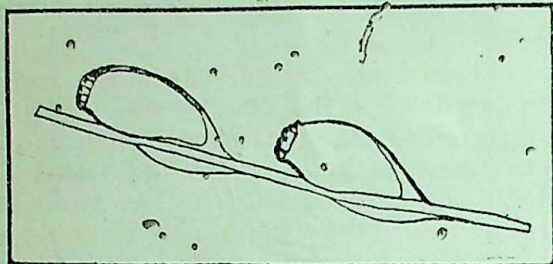
Transverse section of Snout of Louse.  
( After Alcock )

frequently have "nits" in their hair, mainly owing to the motley crowd that attend even our best 'seats of learning.' The habit of several natives such as the Australians, the Andamanese, and the Apache Indians of plastering their hair with coloured clay, is said to be a protection against vermin and also to keep them "agreeably cool". Anointing the head with ointments or oil, is also a protective measure, and it is probable that the Spartan youths who used to oil their wavy locks before going into battle, feared these parasites. The habit of the natives of India of anointing themselves daily with oil serves a more useful purpose than they perhaps think. Likewise, the round head of the German soldier is not shaved to provide the cartoonist with a subject, but has a practical significance, as it affords no nidus for lice. The wigs of the seventh, and early part of the eighteenth centuries, and the later powdering of the hair also probably owed their origin to the difficulty of combating the parasites, and not to the whims of Dame Fashion.

The egg of *P. capitis* is something like that of the bed-bug, but has a perforated cap, which Col. Alcock thinks is to supply the developing embryos with air. It is attached to the hair, and at the end of six days the young emerge, mating after a certain number of moults, on the 18th day.

The crab louse, *Ph. pubis*, is, like the dethroned Emperor Wilhelm among rulers, a creature quite unlike the other lice. It is nearly as wide as long : the legs are





Eggs of Head-Louse.

proportionately very stout (the front pair are much slenderer than the others) and always spread out laterally which has the effect of making the body look even broader than it is. It is more or less whitish in colour with a dark patch on each shoulder and the legs are tinged with a red. Its popular name, "the crab louse," is more appropriate than popular names of insects usually are, as a glance at the illustration will show. It inhabits the pubic and perineal hairs particularly, but is not entirely confined to those regions and has even been found on the head. The eggs are pear-shaped. Young emerge in about a week and are quite mature in a little over a fortnight.

Numerous remedies have been suggested for combating lice, which I do not propose to detail here. "Prevention is better than cure" and acting on this principle we should try to avoid contact with "lousy" people and advise the children to do the same. It should also be remembered that to secure immunity from their attacks the chief requisite is cleanliness. The gentle sex generally dislike the idea of washing their heads frequently, on account of the time it occupies and its troublesomeness, and children share a similar antipathy. But frequent head-washing is essential, and parents should see that their children are regularly and thoroughly bathed. The use of oils on the hair, as I have remarked previously, is a useful preventive. This has been known for centuries and in former times some horrible mixtures were probably in use. Mouffet, for instance, would have his readers use a

compound of hog's blood mixed with wine and essence of roses.

For curative purposes a wash made from an extract of tobacco is efficacious, but not agreeable. Perhaps the best method of ridding the head of *P. capitis* is to rub the hair thoroughly with equal parts of paraffin and salad oils, followed by washing with soap—preferably carbolic soap—and hot water and combing with the small, fine wooden combs that can be had for a few pice in any Indian bazar. Sulphur ointment is also commonly used for destroying the head-louse.

*P. vestimenti* the more annoying of the two Pediculi and also the more difficult to destroy as it lays its eggs in the seams and folds of one's inner garments. Lousy clothing should be steamed or boiled or cleaned by soaking in gasoline or some other volatile mineral oil. This will never be necessary, I think, in the average home, if the clothes are frequently dusted, sunned, and ironed particularly along the seams. It seems the custom among poorer Eurasean families to regularly have their hair searched for "nits" and to examine their clothes for body-lice, this custom no doubt considerably mitigates the evil. As a private once said to Sir Arthur Shipley: "We strips and we picks 'em off and place 'em in the sun, and it kind o' breaks the little beggars' 'earts."

The body-louse, and even the head-louse, are known to be carriers of relapsing fever and it has been "shown that infected lice transmit the infection if their bodies are crushed and rubbed into an abraded skin, as might happen in the rubbings and scratchings of a lousy person." For this reason infected persons should try to avoid scratching the irritated parts. Considerable relief may be obtained by bathing with warm water and carbolic soap, or any good medicated soap such as "Cuticura"; and I have been told that a dash of "Phenyle in the water increases the soothing effect.

The body-louse also stands convicted of conveying typhus, and the head-louse is suspected of carrying not only typhus



The crab-louse is more easily conveyed from one person to another than either of the two *Pediculi* and as they are usually contracted from using an infested public lavatory or bath, such places should as far as possible be avoided. I do not suppose even our energetic "city-fathers" could make all the public latrines strictly sanitary. But they are a wonderful body (witness the new electric rubbish cart) and who knows what may happen in the future!

This is the most troublesome of all lice and also the most difficult to get rid of as it reproduces very rapidly. Shaving of the

affected parts and blue ointment is the usual treatment.

Let us close this article in the same manner as Sir Arthur Shipley—cheerfully!

The third, Lady Holland, with more spirit than delicacy had informed Theodore Hook, who had offended her at Holland House that "she did not care three skips of a louse for him." Hook in revenge addressed the slangy aristocrat the following lines:—

Her ladyship said when I went to her house  
She did not regard me three skips of a louse.  
I freely forgave what the dear creature said,  
For ladies will talk of what runs in their head.

## BOOKER T. WASHINGTON

### HIS LIFE AND WORK.

It is well known to students of History that some fifty years ago the Negroes in America were in the bonds of slavery. From the middle of the seventeenth century the Portuguese began to capture the Negroes of Africa and sell them as slaves. By and by the trade fell into the hands of the English, and thousands of these poor creatures were imported into America. They were readily purchased by the white settlers, who urgently wanted some labour agency to clear the virgin forests and bring the vast land under cultivation. In 1776 America declared her Independence, and the equality of man before God was recognised.

But the condition of the Negro grew from bad to worse. He was not treated as a human being, he could not own any estate, he was regarded as cattle by his master. The horrors of this system are graphically described in Mrs. Stow's famous novel "Uncle Tom's Cabin", which is also responsible for awakening the sympathy of the people for the coloured man. From the very beginning the Northern States of America were against slavery. The States in the South—where the Negro slaves were owned by the planters in large numbers—were strongly in favour of continuing this system. This and the other points of difference between these two groups of States led to the fierce Civil War in 1860. The cause of the helpless Negro was stoutly championed by Abraham Lincoln, one of the greatest Presidents of America, with whom the principle was, "If slavery is not wrong, nothing is wrong." C.C. Helms, D.D., in the

weak and the humble was successful, and on the 1st January, 1863, the famous Lincoln Amnesty declared complete freedom to all the American Negroes.

Though the chains of bondage were broken, this did not much improve the material condition of the coloured people. Hitherto they were in a primitive condition, and had scarcely any knowledge of earning their livelihood. Till then their masters were responsible for their maintenance. But now they were thrown out in the open and broad world, where there was a hard and keen struggle for existence. Some kind of literary, spiritual and industrial education was necessary to meet this situation. An attempt in the direction was successfully made by General Armstrong and Booker T. Washington by starting the required schools at Hampton and Tuskegee respectively. It is the life of the latter that is chosen for our study here.

Our hero was born a slave in 1858 in a plantation in Franklin County, Virginia, near a Post Office called Hale's Ford. His life had its beginning in the midst of the most miserable, desolate, and discouraging surroundings. He was born in a typical log cabin about fourteen by sixteen feet square. Here he lived with his mother and family 'till after the Civil War, when they were all declared free.' As soon as freedom was proclaimed, the family went to Malden, Kanawha Valley, in West Virginia, to live with his step-father. At that time salt

mining was the great industry in that part of



West Virginia. Washington's father had already engaged himself at a Salt-furnace, and he had also secured work in the same for his step-son.

From his very childhood he had a great desire to learn to read, and understand common books and newspapers. Soon after they had settled in the new home, he asked his mother for a book. She procured for him an old copy of Webster's Blue Back spelling book. This was the first book he read. After some time a school was opened in the neighbourhood, and arrangement was made with the teacher to give him some lessons at night, when the day's work was over. He could learn more at night than the other children could do during the day. His experience gave him faith in the institution of a night school, with which afterwards he had to work at Hampton and Tuskegee.

After he had worked for some days in the Salt-furnace, he was engaged in a coal-mine. This work was not only hard, but dangerous. "There was always the danger of being blown to pieces by a premature explosion of powder, or of being crushed by falling slate"; and frequent accidents from these causes kept him in constant danger. It was while working here that he heard of the establishment of a Normal and Agricultural Institute at Hampton. He immediately resolved to go there, though he had no idea of its precise whereabouts, and he had also no means to reach the place. This thought, however, was uppermost in his mind day and night.

Soon afterwards he heard of a vacancy in the house of General Ruffener. Mrs. Ruffener was very strict with her servants, and especially with the boys who tried to serve her. He had, however, decided not to remain in the coal-mine, and so through his mother he secured the place in Mrs. Ruffener's house. Soon he learned that she required everything to be kept clean, that she wanted prompt execution of work, and that she desired absolute honesty and straightforward character. The lessons he learned in the home of Mrs. Ruffener were as valuable to him as any education he ever received since then. His heart and honest work soon pleased his mistress, who always sympathised with him in all his efforts to get an education.

In 1872 he determined to make an effort to go to Hampton. He had no money to buy clothes or pay his travelling expenses. He had on the other hand the sympathy of the coloured people, who took a keen interest in the matter. The great day at last came, and he started on his pilgrimage! His mother was then not keeping good health, he hardly expected to see her again, and hence his departure was all the more sad. The distance from Molden to Hampton was about five hundred miles. He had not sufficient money to pay his fare. "By walking, begging rides both in waggons and in the cars, in some way, after a number of days, he

he reached the city of Richmond late at night. He was tired, he was very hungry, but he was not disheartened. He arrived at a street where the "board side-walk was considerably elevated." He crept under it, and rested for the night upon the ground with his satchel of clothing for a pillow. In the morning he noticed he was near a large ship, which seemed to be unloading its cargo. Here he secured his work, and in this way earned money to pay his way. He reached at last the place of his pilgrimage with fifty cents to offer at the feet of the Goddess of Learning.

He immediately presented himself before the head teacher for admission. Having been so long without food and change of clothing, he could not make a favourable impression upon her. She perhaps thought that he was a loafer or tramp. After some hours had passed, she said: "The adjoining recitation room needs sweeping. Take a broom and sweep it." Here was his chance! He instantly took the broom and swept the room three times. When every corner in the room was thoroughly cleaned, he informed the teacher of it. She, however, knew just where to look for the dust. She took out her handkerchief and rubbed it on the wood work, about the wall, and over the furniture. When she was unable to find a particle of dust she quietly remarked, "I guess you will do to enter this institution." Miss F. Mackie, the head teacher, was thus favourably impressed, and she offered him a position as janitor. This he gladly accepted, as it enabled him to pay his board. At Hampton he came in direct contact with that great man, General Samuel C. Armstrong, the founder of the Hampton Institution. For three years he worked very hard, and was graduated in 1875.

After graduation he returned to his home at Molden and was elected to teach the coloured school of that place. Two years after he went to Washington D. C. and he studied there for eight months. About 1878 he was called to Hampton by General Armstrong to deliver the post-graduate address at the next commencement. This he considered to be a great honour and spoke on "The Force That Wins". In 1879 he was again called to Hampton as a teacher, where he further pursued some supplementary studies. General Armstrong was then carrying on an educational experiment with Red Indians; and seventy-five young men of them were placed under Washington's care for training, he being appointed as their 'house-father'. He creditably acquitted himself of this rather delicate, dangerous and difficult task. He also started a night school in connection with the Institute in which students were to receive education on condition that they were to work ten hours during the day. This class was called by him "The Plucky Class" on account of the earnestness the students showed in their hard studies.



In 1881 General Armstrong was asked by some gentlemen in Alabama to recommend someone to take charge of a Normal School for the coloured people in Tuskegee. He recommended Washington, who was immediately accepted. Tuskegee was a small town of about two thousand inhabitants, nearly one half of whom were coloured. Washington expected at Tuskegee a school-building and the necessary teaching apparatus. To his utter disappointment he found nothing of the kind. The State had given a grant of 2000 for the payment of teachers only. What however he found was hundreds of hungry and earnest souls who wanted to secure knowledge.

His first work was to find a place in which to open the school. After a careful enquiry he could secure an old shanty, near the Methodist Church, with the Church itself as an assembly room. Both these places were in a dilapidated condition. The school was opened here in July 4, 1881, with thirty students of both the sexes. It soon became apparent that something else must be done besides teaching mere books. The students were ignorant of many essential things. They did not know how to bathe and care for the body; they scarcely thought what was proper to eat and how to eat it; they had no idea as how to care for their rooms. Besides this, he also wanted to give them a practical knowledge of some one industry with the spirit of labour economy. They were to be so trained and equipped with the industrial education that they would be sure of knowing how to make a living after they had gone out in the world. Eighty per cent of the coloured people depended upon agriculture. Such an education was therefore absolutely essential as would fit a large proportion of the students to return to their farms as good farmers, and put "new energy and new ideas into farming, as well as into the intellectual, moral and religious life of the people."

Three months after they began their work an old plantation came into the market for sale. It was bought for 500 with the help of General F. B. Marshall, the treasurer of Hampton. No time was lost in occupying the place. There were standing upon the plantation only a cabin, an old kitchen, a stable, an old hen house. As soon as the cabins were in a condition to be used, it was resolved to clear up some land in the neighbourhood to plant a crop. When this was explained to the students, they did not welcome the idea. It was difficult for them to see the relation between clearing land and an education. Washington, however, took his axe and led the way to the woods. When his students saw that he was not ashamed to work, they gladly came forward with a smile. The school was daily growing in numbers, and an adequate provision of buildings and ground was secured.

apparatus became a pressing necessity. From the very beginning Washington was determined that the students should erect their own buildings. "During the nineteen years' existence of the Tuskegee school," forty buildings had been built, and "all except four are almost wholly the product of student labour. Under his presidency the Tuskegee institute at present has become the foremost exponent of industrial education for the Negroes."

His work demanded more and more money; to promote its interest it became necessary to establish better understanding between the white and the coloured people; and on account of these and similar causes he took to public speaking. Soon his fame as an orator increased and he delivered many addresses and lectures throughout the United States. His speech in 1895 at the opening of the Atlanta Cotton States and International Exhibition is especially noteworthy. It was equally liked and appreciated by the white and the coloured people, and is considered to be one of his best, finest and most thoughtful speeches.

A few extracts from this speech will not be out of place:

"To those of my race who depend on bettering their condition in a foreign land, or who underestimate the importance of cultivating friendly relations with the southern white man, who is their next-door neighbour, I would say, 'Cast down your bucket where you are'—cast it down in making friends in every manly way of the people of all races by whom we are surrounded."

"No race can prosper till it learns that there is as much dignity in tilling the field as in writing a poem. It is at the bottom of life we must begin, and not at the top. Nor should we permit our grievances to overshadow our opportunities."

"In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress."

"In 1898 the Tuskegee Institute was very fortunate to receive a visit from the then President of America. In the course of his address to the students President McKinley observed:—

"To meet you under such pleasant auspices and to have the opportunity of a personal observation of your work is indeed most gratifying. The Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute is ideal in its conception, and has already a large and growing reputation in the country, and is not unknown abroad. I congratulate all who are associated in this undertaking for the good work which it is doing in the education of its students to lead lives of honour and usefulness, thus exalting the race for which it was established."

"Nowhere I think could a more delightful location have been chosen for this unique educational experiment, which has attracted the attention and won the support even of conservative philanthropists in all sections of the country."

"To speak of Tuskegee without paying special tribute to Booker T. Washington's genius and perseverance would be impossible. The inception of this school and the progress it has made he deserves high credit



for it. His was the enthusiasm and enterprise which made its steady progress possible, and established in the institution its present high standard of accomplishments. He has won a worthy reputation as one of the great leaders of his race, widely known and much respected at home and abroad as an accomplished educator, a great orator, and a true philanthropist.

His work is also recognised by the American Universities. Harvard conferred upon him the honorary degree of Master of Arts in 1896, and Dartmouth that of Doctor of Literature in 1901. In 1899 some of his friends raised a sum of money to enable him and his wife to undertake a trip to Europe as he was very tired on account of eighteen years' strenuous and laborious work. He visited Belgium, Holland, France and England, and returned home after a three months' stay in the Old World!

The Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute was established by the legislature of 1880. The school was opened in 1881 in a rented shanty and church with thirty pupils and but one teacher. During the first session the present location with three buildings thereon was purchased. The population of the school community is at present over 2000. This includes 193 teachers, officers and employees with their families. From its foundation upto 1912 over 9000 men and women have finished a full or partial course. In 1912 the total enrolment was 1645. Of these 1067 were young men, 578 young women.

The educational plant consists of 2345 acres of land, and 107 buildings. This does not include 19910 acres of public land as remaining unsold from 25500 acres granted by Act of Congress, and valued at 25000000. The control of the school is vested in a Board of 19 Trustees. The Endowment Fund amounts at the present time to 1,871,647. The current annual expense is about 270000. Including the agricultural department, the industries for girls and the Nurse Training School there are now forty different trades or professions taught at Tuskegee. They are grouped under agriculture, mechanical industries, and the industries for girls.

At the present time the farm comprises 22300 acres. An extensive live-stock industry is also conducted on the basis of this farm. Landscape gardening, horticulture, and floriculture have recently been added. There is a Museum in which specimens of various products of the soil are preserved for illustrating lectures. Experiments in cotton breeding are carried on since 1905.

In the shops, where the mechanical industries are taught, arrangements are made for the following trades:—Carpentry, wood-working, printing, tailoring, black-smithing, wheelwrighting, harness-making, carriage-trimming, plumbing, steel-fitting, electric-lighting, architectural and mechanical drawing, tinning, painting, steam-engineering, and shoe-making.

Girls' trades include laundry, cooking, dress-making, and millinery. All girls in the school study cooking and domestic science. The school maintains a practice cottage, where the girls of the senior class keep house, and do their own cooking on a small fixed allowance given them by the school.

There is also an academic department. All the students are required to take academic studies. There is a systematic effort to harmonise academic studies with industrial training and practical interest of the pupils. Teaching in this department is carried on by a faculty of fifty-two teachers, giving instruction on the subjects of English, Mathematics, History and Geography, Science, Education, Book-keeping, Vocal and Instrumental Music, Kinder-Garten, Drawing, Writing and Physical culture. There is also a public school of the institute community called the Children's House. A summer school is conducted each year for teachers from the northern and the southern States.

Religious and spiritual education is given in the Phelps Bible Training School. The aim of this department is to give its students a comprehensive knowledge of the whole English Bible. This is done with a view to give them such knowledge and training as will fit them to work as preachers and missionaries.

In 1892 a Hospital and Nurse Training School was started. Seventyfour nurses have gone out from the school since 1894, and are doing good work in different parts of the country.

Besides these, there are other special features of educational work at Tuskegee for which a school extension department is created. In 1891 the Annual Negro Conference was started, which has resulted now in the annual farmers' and workers' conferences. A Farmers' Institute was established in 1897. A short course in Agriculture is started since 1904 to give the farmers the advantage of two weeks' study and observation of the work of the school farm. In 1907 the demonstration farming experiment was started. A Negro County Fair has been held for a number of years in connection with the Farmers' Institute. There is a Rural School Extension, a Model School, a Plantation Settlement, and Mothers' Clubs, the last two being established through Mrs. Booker T. Washington's efforts. A National Negro Business League also meets annually at Tuskegee.

The discipline of the school is in charge of the commandant of the battalion and the Dean of the Women's Department. Military discipline of some sort has been enforced since the foundation of the school.

There is a large Library housed in the Carnegie Library building, which contains at present 19000 volumes. A special effort is now made to furnish the Library with books and pamphlets on Africa and the Negroes. The Library carries on a considerable amount of extension



work. Circulating Library boxes are being fitted up and sent out to the Rural Schools.

Having seen so far the life of Booker T. Washington, and his noble work at Tuskegee, it will not be a digression to apply the lessons of his story to the present condition of India. Curiously enough the position of the American Negro closely resembles the state of our untouchable and depressed classes. With the stigma of being untouchable, they are in a deep submerged condition of poverty, ignorance, social degradation and isolation from a higher moral and spiritual life. The insanitary life they lead, together with the regular visits of famines and plague, makes their condition simply unthinkable. Our Mahars and Mangs, and the Dheds and Chamars are in a far worse condition when compared to the highly civilised life that is led by the present American Negro. Our Bhils and Koles are also not in a very happy condition of life. As far as their economic, moral and spiritual welfare is concerned, they are in the same boat with our so-called depressed class brethren.

And coming also nearer to the higher classes, what do we find? Eighty per cent of our population, entirely dependent upon agriculture, is living in abject poverty and deep ignorance. The rays of education, sanitation and civilization are yet to penetrate into their poor hamlets! Taking also the condition of our young educated men, with the honourable exception of a few successful and flourishing pleaders, doctors and engineers, it is not far from the truth to say

that they have to remain satisfied with their exceedingly small and poor income which barely enables them to live from hand to mouth.

And how are these great problems to be solved? In my humble opinion education as imparted at Hampton and Tuskegee is absolutely necessary for our people. We most urgently want our General Armstrongs and Booker T. Washingtons. The majority of our people must receive such an education as would enable them to live on their own labour a decent life. The idea of the dignity of labour must be raised to a higher level. The education of the head, heart and hand must be simultaneously given.

We are not hopeless. There are fortunately signs in the country that indicate that our people are thinking over this serious situation, and are trying to face it as best as they can. The Kirloskar Wadi in the Oundh State, the Glass Factory at Talegaon, the Ranade Economic Institute in Poona, are some of the efforts in this direction. I cannot but also mention here the splendid work done by the Depressed Classes Mission Society. The mission at present has four branches at Bombay, Poona, Hubli and Nagpur with ten affiliated centres and forty-five educational institutions. But taking all these attempts together, we are obliged to say that they are quite insufficient to successfully meet our economic situation.

T. R. GADRE.

## SHANTA DURGA IN GOA

**T**HE temple of Shanta Durgâ is situated at Kavale in Goa. This Portuguese

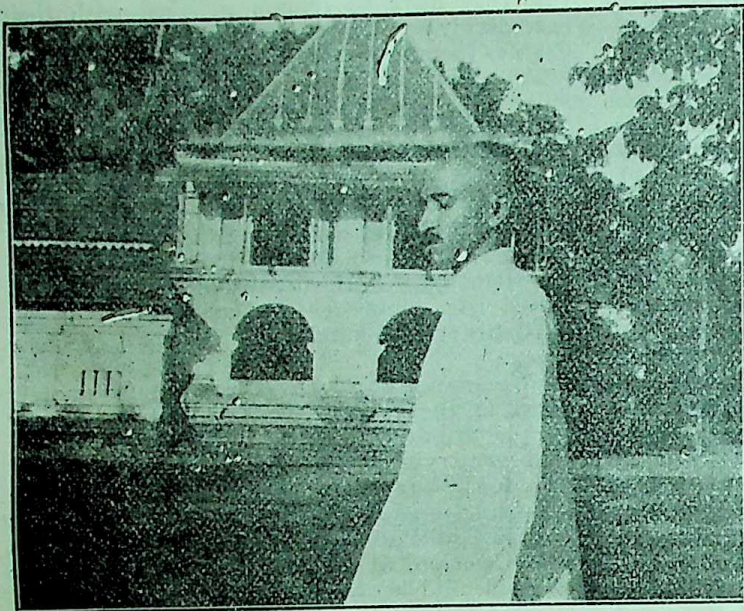
Settlement on the West Coast of India protected on the land side by the almost impassable forest of the Western Ghats or Sahyâdri Mountains and intersected by numerous navigable rivers which flow into the Arabian Sea is the holy land of the Sâraswat Brâhmans of the Deccan. Shanta Durgâ, Mangesh, Nâgesh, Râmnâth and Devaki-Krishna, the principal shrines of the Sâraswats, are situated in the hilly region known as Novas Conquistas (New Conquest).

On board the S. S. Tilak, once a British mine sweepër, the pilgrim from Bombay embarks for the holy land. The steamer winds its way out of the crowded shipping in the Bombay harbour past islands and hills which conceal the British

batteries and the fairy caves of Salsette and Elephanta.

The Konkan Coast, the Ariake of the Greeks and Kemkem of the Arabs, was from ancient times occupied by a multitude of ports some of which like Chaul and Dabhul were the great emporium of trade with the West. As we steam along hugging the shore we pass the former territories of the great Maratha corsair-captain Angre who defied the Portuguese and British fleets. This picturesque region of low hills green with groves of cocoanut trees possesses a number of fortresses built by Sivaji. Vijaydurg the fortress of victory, Ratnagiri the hill of jewels, Suvarnadurg the golden fortress, jut out into the water, breaking the line, and from their high ground favorable to distant vision appear to command an uninterrupted





Temple of Shāntā-Durgā As Gramadevatā at Macel. The Man in the Foreground is A Saraswat Purohit or the Worshipper of Shāntā-Durgā.

Early next day we see the white-washed Farol or light house of Panjim to the north of the entrance to the Goa creek. It is situated on a hill which is crowded with batteries and is known as the Castello de Agoada. The entrance to the creek is about two miles broad. The southern prong known as the "Cabo de Convanto" once occupied by a monastery has now the residence of the Governor-General of Portuguese India.

The steamer slows down in the shallow creek as we enter. The spring air is soft and cool. A thin mist rests upon the lower grounds and hovers half way up the hills, leaving their palm-clad summits clear to catch the silvery light of dawn. A sharp whistle reminds the passengers to "prepare to dismount" and as the ship touches the dock, porters board it to remove the passengers' beddings to a shed for Fumentacao or disinfection. The owners are kept waiting for an hour and in return are charged an anna per bedding. Before the passengers are allowed to land, a Portuguese Doctor tries to feel their pulse. Then comes the Customs Examination. The Alfandega (customs official) a rhubarb-coloured Portuguese regards time as of no consequence. The delay is annoying, but it is some consolation that equal treatment is meted out to every one, coloured or white, including the Englishman. The

customs officials are said to resent tips, but more things are wrought by a cup of tea or a solitary cigarette in this part of the world. The vagaries of the Alfandega are best illustrated by what happened a few years ago when the Maharaja of Kolhapur presented an elephant to a Sāraswat landholder the Visconde de Perneu. The Portuguese official at the customs post on the Ghats not having seen such a beast before, classed it as a parrot and so the beast was called a parrot and duty was charged accordingly!

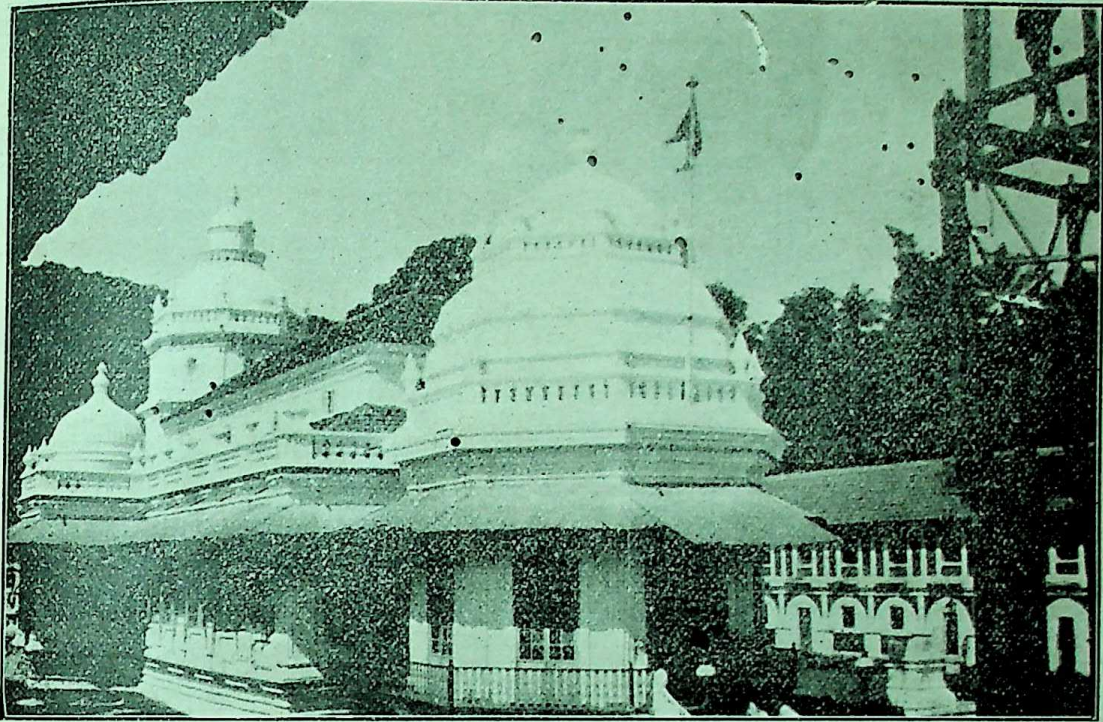
Panjim or Nova Goa is the capital of Portuguese India. It is situated upon a narrow ledge between a hill to the South and the creek which stretches for many miles from West to East. Houses with

white-washed walls and red tiles peep through gardens of slender cocoanut trees. There are a variety of public conveyances for hire from the lugubrious-looking Manchel to the motor car. The Manchel is a kind of palanquin made up of a light sofa curtained with green or red velvet and strapped to a bamboo-pole which rests upon two bearers. Panjim resembles the towns in the South of France. The uniforms of the Police and Military are in the continental style. There is a variety of costumes and complexions to be seen in the streets. The ancient Portuguese costum de dame with its thick striped and coloured petticoat and a huge white or coloured calico sheet muffling the whole figure is still to be seen in the streets of Panjim amongst the poor, while the ladies now dress according to Parisian styles.

The ancient Hindu capital was a few miles from what is now Goa Velhas (Old Goa). It was known as Gopak-pattan or Gopak-puri, the capital of Kadamba Mahā-mandaleswaras who derived their origin from Jayanta alias Trilochana Kadamba\*.

The Kadambas of Goa had the title of "Supreme lord of Banawari the best of cities". Upto 1313 A. C. the Kadambas were





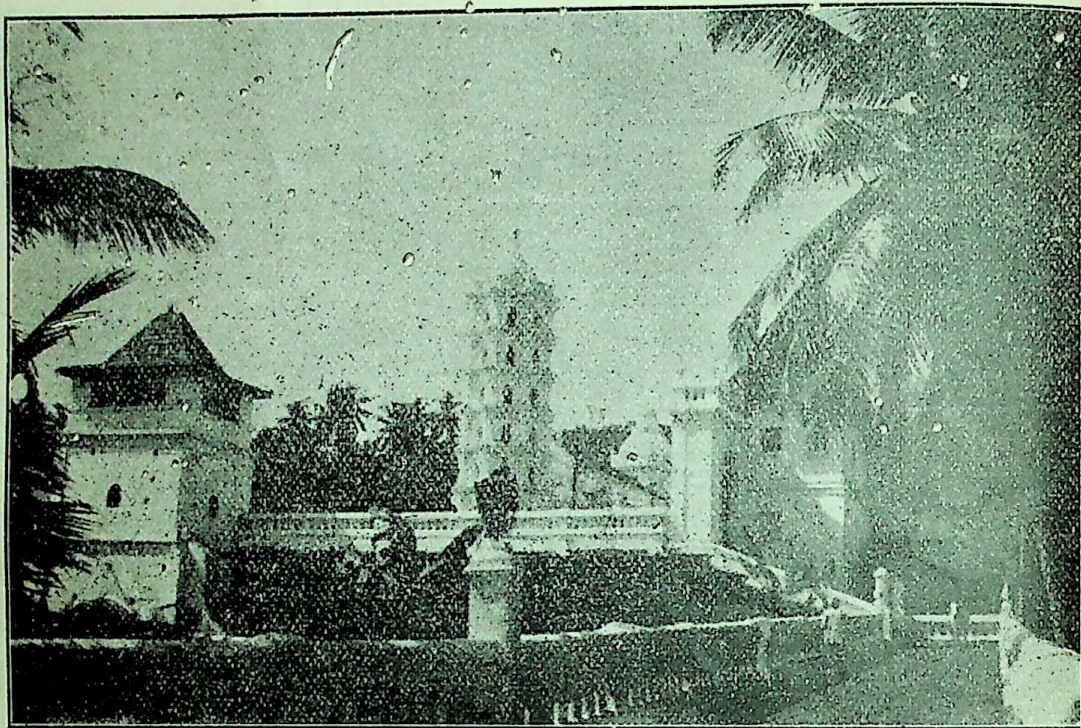
The Temple of Mangesh at Goa.

tributary to Devagiri. In the 14th century, after the fall of Devagiri, Mahomedans entered Goa and commenced the destruction of Hindu religious edifices. The famous temple of Sapta Kotishwara was among those destroyed. In about 1380 A.C. the prime minister of Vijaynagar conquered Goa and expelled the Turushkas or Mahomedans and re-established the image of Sapta Kotishwara. Under the sway of Vijaynagar the trade of Goa especially in horses and pearls from the Persian Gulf grew rapidly. This tempted the Bahamani King Mahomed II. to invade Goa in 1470. So great was that monarch's joy at the conquest that according to Ferishta he ordered "the march of triumph to be beaten for seven days." But Goa soon fell into the hands of the Turkish King Yusuf Adil Shah of Bijapur in 1489. This king embellished the city with many fine buildings and greatly augmented its prosperity. Yusuf Adil Shah however favoured his own creed and oppressed the Hindu population. His governor especially made himself obnoxious by the cruelties perpetrated by his Turkish garrison on the citizens. But the days of the Turks and Persians were numbered. A

Hindu jogi had foretold that a foreign people from a distant land would conquer Goa and on the arrival of the Portuguese under Albuquerque guided by Timoji the inhabitants readily surrendered the city. Albuquerque entered the city in triumph amidst shouts of welcome by the people who showered on him flowers made of gold and silver.

The Portuguese nation had grown warlike from its victorious conflicts with the Moors in Europe. When there were no Moors left to fight in the Peninsula, the Portuguese led by their gallant princes went to fight the Moors in Morocco. Their history had been one long struggle with the Mahomedans and the duty of fighting the Moors had from their history sunk deep into the hearts of the Portuguese people. In 1510 when the Portuguese finally obtained possession of Goa, Albuquerque ordered that the Mahomedan population, men, women and children, should be put to the sword. He abolished Islam and transferred the whole of the property which had belonged to the mosques to the new Churches which he established. Captured Mahomedan women were baptised and given in marriage to his





General View of Mangesh.

favourites. Albuquerque's unrelenting hatred for Islam made him desire the friendship of the Hindus. He sent an embassy to Vijaynagar and directed his ambassador to state in his name that

"The King of Portugal commands me to render honour and willing service to all the Gentile kings of this land and of the whole of Malabar and that they are to be well treated by me, neither am I to take their ships, nor their merchandise, but I am to destroy the Moors with whom I wage incessant war."

The Portuguese found to their great delight Nestorian Christianity flourishing on the Coast of Malabar. They considered that the Hindus or Krishna-worshippers believed in a form of Christianity. The grounds for this belief, though very slight, were sufficient to convince the ardent Christians and secured the Hindus from persecution for some years. But the Hindus did not long enjoy immunity from religious persecution. In 1560 the inquisition was established in Goa by the Jesuits in the magnificent palace of Yusuf Adil Shah. The work of forcible conversion commenced in about 1541, was continued with rapidity and vigour. The inhabitants of Goa and the various provinces were in turn victimized. Tradition relates that a race of giants known as Panlistres

came by sea to destroy the Hindu shrines and to convert the Hindus to Christianity. They built the magnificent edifices of the new faith in Goa Velhas and their disappearance was as sudden as their arrival. This no doubt refers to the Jesuits who brought the dreaded inquisition. Tavernier says,

"The Jesuit fathers are known at Goa by the name of Paulists on account of their grand church dedicated to St. Paul."\*

The synod of Udayampur in 1599 condemned the doctrines and ritual of the Nestorian Christians of Malabar. The Jesuits pretended to have the right to try those who were never Christians. To them every pagan was an enemy of Portugal and of Christ. Soon the burning of relapsed converts and supposed witches, known as Auto da Fe, commenced their sanguinary work. Unbridled tyranny went hand in hand with religious bigotry. The Portuguese robbed and burnt the temples of the so-called heathen, trampled on their books and threw them into the flames. The two most famous temples of the Sāraswats—of Shāntā Durgā at Kelus and of Mangesh at Kushasthali—which had escaped destruction by the



Mahomedans were destroyed by the Portuguese.

The Crusaders however soon sank into more debasing material facts when once the activities of religion had slackened. As the Viceroy Dom Jono de Castro said,

"The Portuguese entered India with the sword in one hand and the crucifix in the other; finding much gold they laid aside the crucifix to fill their pockets."

The Jesuits were expelled finally from Goa in about 1758 and the Inquisition was suppressed at the recommendation of the British Government,—“one of those good actions with which,” says Burton, “our native land atones for a multitude of sins.”

Before the destruction of their temples the Brāhmans escaped with the images of their deities to the neighbouring hills of Antruj then under the rule of the Hindu prince of Saunda. It is said that the Mahārs, an untouchable caste, sheltered the devotees of Shāntā Durgā and provided a site from their own encampment for the new residence of the deity. In return they begged that they may be allowed a ‘darshan’ once a year. Ever since the Mahārs have exercised right of worship on the day following the Māgh Shud Panchami, the greatest festival of the Goddess. The old site at Kelus is still pointed out by the Christian cultivators who speak of the Shāntā Durgā with great reverence as “Mai” (mother).

The Christian population of Goa is composed of three heterogeneous elements, viz., pure Portuguese, half-breeds and Christian converts. Formerly the pure Portuguese were called Reinols and were exclusively entitled to high offices of State. Tavernier tells us that any adventurer who passed the Cape of Good Hope forthwith became a Fidalgo, a gentleman, and called himself a Dom. The white families settled in the country were formerly called Castisses to distinguish them from Reinols. This colonist class is now neither numerous nor influential. As soon as intermarriage with the older settlers or native Goanese took place, the progeny was called Mestici—in plain English mongrels—though they preferred to call themselves Descendantes.

The Mestici or mixed breed composes the great mass of society in Goa. It includes all classes from the cook to the Government official. Perfect equality, political as well as social, has long prevailed between the white as well as coloured and in 1835 one of the

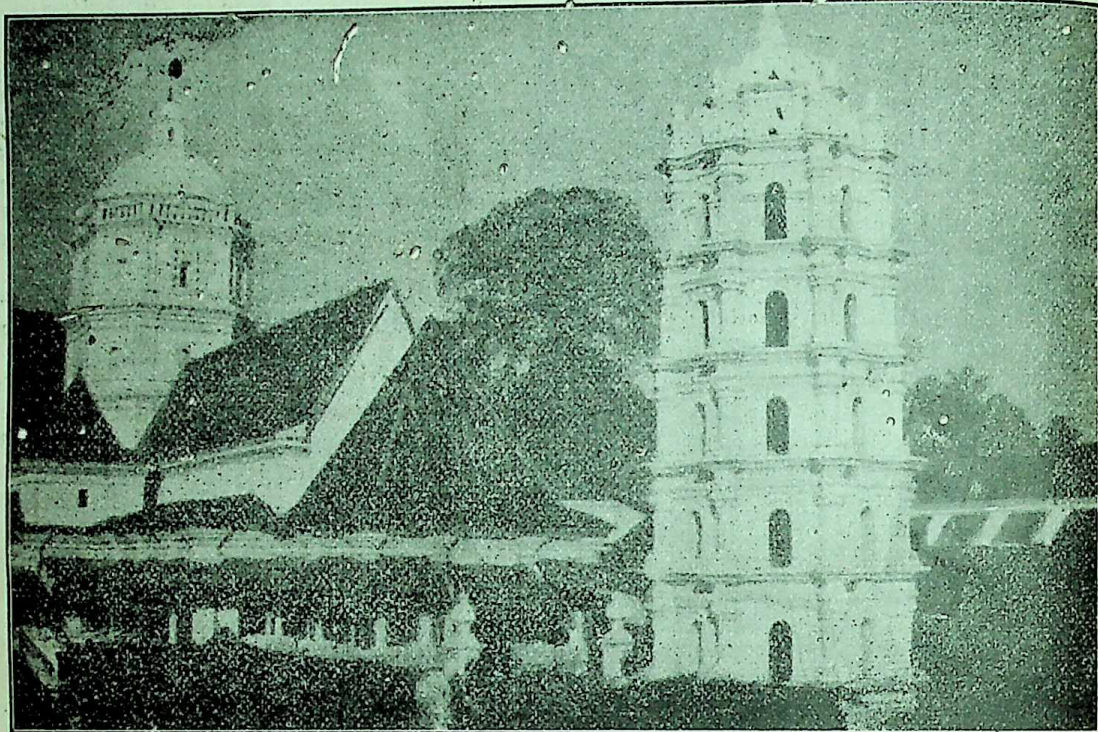
Mestici, Bernardo Pêres da Silva, rose to be Viceroy.

The mixed class are not prepossessing in appearance and the fair sex is little superior to the other. One scarcely ever sees a pretty half-caste girl. The men imitate European dress but the quantity of clothing diminishes with the wearer's rank and means. Even the highest wear coloured clothes to spare the washerman. They are fond of spirituous liquors and seldom drink except honestly for the purpose of intoxication.

The native Christians or Christão, who constitute half the total population, still observe the four Hindu castes. They are Bāman, Chārade (Chhatri), Gāvde (Vaishya) and Shūdra. The converts do not intermarry, though they all dine together. The Brāhman Christian is particular about marriage in high class Brāhman Christian families and would ordinarily reject large dowries when the family is not considered high. The Christian Gāvdes like their Hindu brethren abstain from spirituous liquor and fowls. The Gāvdes have perhaps migrated from upper India. Their women do not wear the lāngdar Deccani dhoti (kāshṭā). Their dress which resembles the upper Indian sārī has a knot tied on the shoulder and their ornaments, unlike those in the Deccan, are of Kānsā (Bellmetal). Widow remarriage though not forbidden is as much condemned among the converts as among the Hindus. Many of them, especially among the women, cannot bear the idea of eating beef and they observe the characteristic Hindu prohibition against a wife addressing or speaking of her husband by his name. Their marriage ceremonies are performed in Church according to Christian rites, but they are preceded and followed by observances which are survivals of the Hindu customs of betrothal and marriage. These include the formal bathing of the betrothed couple, the tying of an auspicious necklace round the bride's neck, the exchange of presents and the formal transfer of the bride to her husband's family.

There is yet another class of Christians who are, unlike the native Goanese, clean shaven. Their dress is scanty in the extreme, consisting only of a coloured piece of cloth worn about the waist like the loongy. They wear round their necks strings of beads and the cross. The





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generally ; and it is an established rule in the temple of Shântá Durgá that the Christian seeking Prasâd has precedence over the Hindu.

From Panjim the pilgrims go by Lancha or Vapor (steam-launch) past the Hospital de Misericordia and the old city of Goa. Alighting from the steam launch the rest of the journey is by road up steep hills which afford magnificent view of the valleys below. During the month of Māgh spring encircles the green hills and smiling valleys with the wonderful richness of many-coloured foliage. The kaju, the mango, pummels and various other fruit trees are in full blossom. The flame-coloured flowers of the Simul (Bombax Malbaricum), the new foliage of the Kokamb (Garcinia Indica), the Sisu (Dalvurgia Latifolia) and the wild plaintain afford food and shelter to the greenpigeon, barbet and the bronze-winged dove. Pine-apples, ferns and mosses adorn the surface of the ground. Strange forms of plant and insect life continually demand our attention, while the notes of the thrush, black bird, Koel and the Ghāt Bulbul musically salute our ears. The rapturous praises of pilgrims may often be heard as they pass. Still few who have visited



this picturesque country will think that here extravagance and fiction have left truth much too far behind.

The temple of Shāntā Durgā at Kavale stands on a slope in the bosom of a chain of mountains. In front of the temple a white-washed Deepasthambha points out, through ravines and tangled forest, to the way-worn pilgrim by day and night the site of the holy dwelling of the deity. In front of the temple is a large Kund and on either side are rest houses for the pilgrims. Outside a small shrine is dedicated to the Northern Brāhman who first installed the Durgā in the Deccan. Behind the temple is a wooded hill. It is significant that the present site of the temple bears a remarkable resemblance to the old site at Kelus in each case resembling the old Hindu temples of Bhanier and Katrui, a few miles west of Baramula in Kashmir, which are both backed by five wooded cliffs crowned with deodars. The chief points which distinguish Kashmiri from other Hindu temples in India are the trefoil-headed doorways and recesses, high pediments and straight-lined pyramidal roofs. In the village of Macel there is a shrine dedicated to Shāntā Durgā as Grāma-devatā. It has the high pediment and straight-lined pyramidal roof. At Kavale the temple of Shāntā Durgā is a collection of these pyramidal roofs with the addition of a dome. The old temple of Mangesh also resembled the temple of Shāntā Durgā. No other temples in Goa or the Deccan have such straight-lined pyramidal roofs. The marble used for the pillars and flooring at Shāntā Durgā is known as Kashmiri pāshān or the stone of Kashmir.

Tradition relates that once upon a time there was a fight between Siva and Vishnu. The Adi Shakti took the form of Jagadambā, intervened and pacified the combatants and thus came to be known as Shāntā. Shāntā would however seem to be derived from Portuguese Santa, meaning holy or sacred in imitation of Santa Maria. The old Portuguese colony of Santa Cruz near Bombay is called Shāntā Cruz by the Hindus. The Hindus in Goa have borrowed largely from the Portuguese language. In Macel there is a temple dedicated to Devaki-Krishna representing the infant Krishna with his mother Devaki, an idea evidently borrowed from Roman Catholic Christianity. Hindu temples in Goa are white-washed like, and generally resemble, Catholic

religious edifices, as in the case of the modern Mangesh.

Havell sees in the Durgā the inaccessible mother worshipped with bloody sacrifices by the ancient Dravidians. He says that under the influence of Aryanism.

"Durga—the religious cult of the brigand and outlaw—was transformed into the beauteous wife of the great ascetic Shiva, the teacher of spiritual wisdom and the destroyer of ignorance."

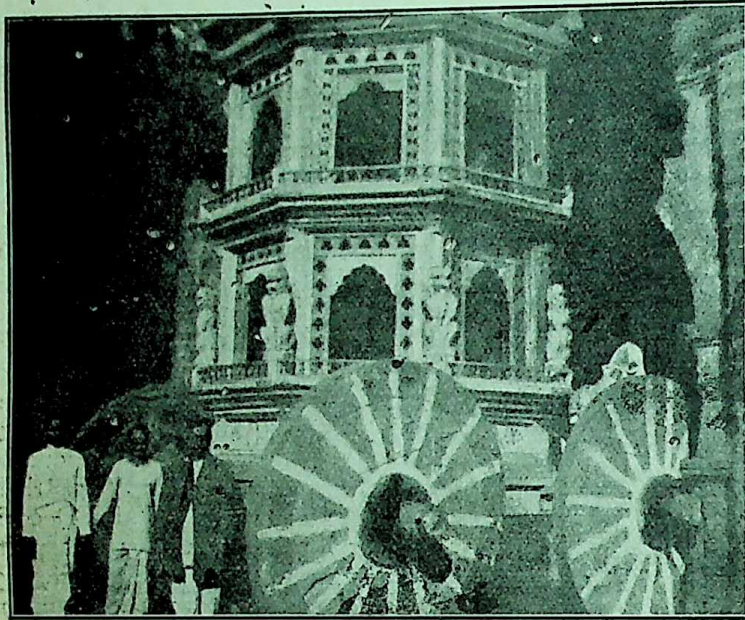
The Pauranic account of Durgā as Chandi (terrible) describes her as the collective power of the devas fighting the asuras. The allegory of the Devi-yuddha in the Markandeya Purāna which means the destruction of egoism and self-seeking in a righteous war indeed depicts the dreadful aspect of the divine power more than the tender. But the Durgā of the Deccan Sāraswats is worshipped in her gentle aspect. No animal is sacrificed. The oti or offering consists of rice, cocoanut, areca, kumkum, fruits and a piece of coloured cloth for bodice. It is usual for the pilgrims to abstain from meat and fish during the festivals.

The Shāntā Durgā can be traced to a North Aryan Vedic source. Her origin lies in the poetic fancies of the Vedic Rishis. The Khila of the Rig Veda following the 127th hymn mentions the Durgā and describes her as the refuge of all sufferers, all who are pursued by enemies internal and external. In the Taittiriya Aranyaka (X.7) she is called Durgi. In the Devi Sukta of the Rig Veda, Durgā is Rudrāni, the wife of Rudra who lives in the Himalayas. Later on the Gayatri Mantra, the personification of Vedic learning, is identified with Rudrāni or Durgā. Thus Durgā means knowledge and in her Aryan form Umā, light, the daughter of king Himavat, she becomes the type of high-born loveliness.

The most important festival of the Shāntā Durgā is the Vernal Equinox—the Vasanta Panchami in Māgh. The vernal festival celebrates the victory of the sun's light over the power of winter and darkness. Two days later, on the Ratha Saptami, the Goddess is taken in procession in a beautifully carved chariot representing the victorious chariot of the sun. Sāraswat ladies draw the figure of the sun in front of the tulasi plant, on this day and worship the figure when the sun enters the meridian.

\* Aryan Rule in India, p. 15.





Rath or Chariot of Shānti-Durgā.

The next two important festivals are the one in Chaitra and the Nāga Panchami. Snake worship prevailed among the ancient Aryans. It is found in the Brāhmana portion of the Yajur Veda. The Grihyasutra of Ashwalāyana contains definite instructions for making offerings to the sarpa-devas. The Nāgas are also mentioned by Ashwalāyana. In the Bhāgawat Purāna Vāsuki and eleven other Nāgas are mentioned as forming the strings of the sun's chariot. The association of the Nāga Panchami with the Shāntā Durgā is thus significant. The Deccan Sāraswats regard the Nāga as a Brāhman. They do not kill the Nāga, but if one happens to be killed, it enjoys the privilege of a Brāhman's funeral. It is duly cremated with a sacred thread and a pice thrown in. The Rājatarangini relates how a Brāhman named Vishākha married Chandralekhā, the daughter of the Nāga Sushravā. Such names of places as Ananta Nāg, Verināg, testify to Nāga worship in Kashmir. Springs such as the one behind Mangesh are called Nāg-jhari and Chashmo Nāg by the Sāraswats in Goa and Kashmir respectively. The Sāraswats observe the 1st of Chaitra as the New Year's Day.

In Kashmir the ancient Aryan spring festival is observed as a national picnic. In the month of Chaitra the Goddess Durgā is worshipped under the names of Sharada

Jwālā and Ragya. The Devotees of Ragya (Kheer-Bhawāni near Ganderhal) worship with milk, kheer, cocoanuts, rice, Kumkum, fruits and narven (red thread tied on the wrist). No animal is sacrificed. The pilgrims abstain from meat for the eight days of the festival.

Of the Hindus in Goa the predominating caste is that of the Sāraswat Brāhmans, also known as the Gaud Sāraswats. The word Gaud is explanatory of their northern origin. It shows that they belong to the Pancha Gaud as distinguished from the Pancha Dravid Brāhmans.\* The Sāraswats follow the Rig Veda and are for the most part Smārta. They have their own spiritual Gurus with their Māths at Kavale, Gokarn, Nasik and

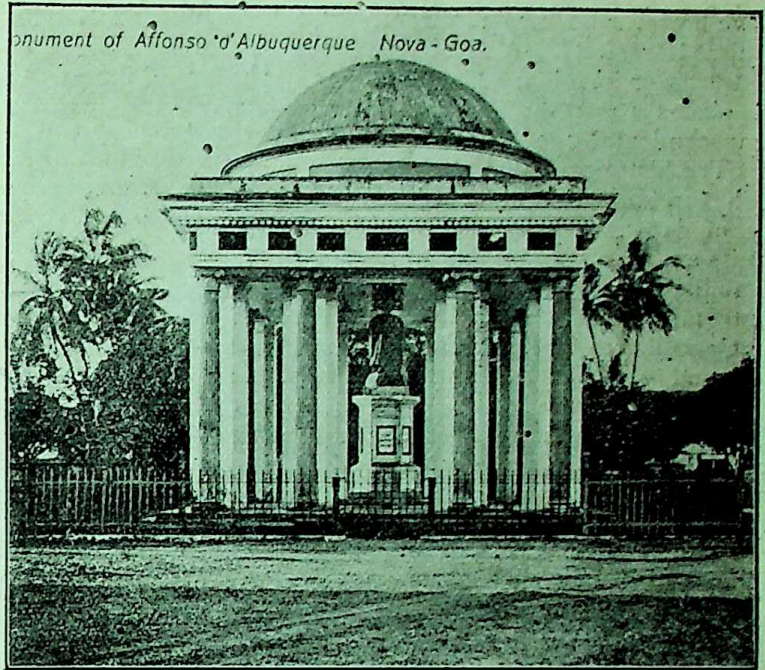
Benares. The Sāraswats are not subject to the jurisdiction of the Shankarāchārya of the Deccan who is followed by the Dravid Brāhmans. Claiming to be Aryan immigrants from the North, they form a separate caste from the Dravid Brāhmans of Mahārāshtra, such as the Chitpāwan, Deshastha and Karhada. In their homeland the Sāraswats do not eat food cooked by any caste except their own. On the plateau of the Deccan and away from their circle they sometimes eat with the Mahārāshtra Brāhmans. The staple food of the Deccan Sāraswats, men and women, is rice and fish. They also eat meat but not fowls. They eat the jungle-fowl (Vana Kukkuta) and the flesh of the wild boar but not the domestic pig. In Goa some Sāraswats have adopted the South Indian Vaishnavism. Amongst them most men abstain from meat, some from fish also whilst the women are generally strict vegetarians. In centres of the caste they have their own priests, in other places they allow the Mahārāshtra Brāhmans to officiate at their ceremonies. The Sāraswat parents bear the expense of their daughter's marriage. A moderate dowry, the scale of which is fixed, is given to the bride. Once the marriage festivities are over the bride's



parents and relatives do not accept hospitality from the other side.

The Deccan Sāraswats in common with their northern brethren trace their origin to the sage Saraswat, the son of Dadheechi, mentioned in the Gadāparva of the Mahābhārat. The Skanda Purāna, which describes the movements of various tribes of Brāhmins, gives an account, in the Sahyādrī Khanda, of the origin of the Deccan Sāraswats. Parashurām by forcing the ocean to recede from the Sahyādrī mountain created a fresh piece of land, viz., Goa, where he held a Vedic sacrifice to commemorate his victory against the Kshatriyas. He brought learned Pancha Gaud Brāhmins from the north to perform the Vedic rites and settled the immigrants by grants of villages in agrahār.\* Their descendants are the Deccan Sāraswats. The immigrants brought their family-gods, amongst whom were Shāntā Durgā and Mangesh.

The old temple of Mangesh was at Kushasthali. Shiva, it is related, in a love-quarrel frightened Pārvati by assuming the shape of a tiger whereupon she cried out with fright, Mām Giresha, and was unable to complete the sentence—Mām Giresha raksha (protect me oh lord !); from Mām Giresha is Mangesh.† Another account traces the origin to the "mountain Mangirish in the eastern country of Trihotra."‡ As these conflicting accounts are given in the same Purāna, a third account traces the origin of Mangesh to an imaginary man of the name of Mangā.§ Some have identified Tirhut in Behar with the "country of Trihotra" and the town of Monghyr with the "mountain Mangirish".|| But the ancient name of Tirhut was not Trihotra. It was Teerabhukti.¶ The old name of Monghyr was



Monument of Alfonso d' Albuquerque, New Goa.

Mudgagiri.\* We have a grant of Devapāla, the most powerful king of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal, issued from his Court at Mudgagiri or Monghyr. According to Mr Girindranath Dutt the system of Kulinism was borrowed by Bengal from the Brāhmins of Tirhut and the Tirhutia Brāhmins are divided into hypergamous groups.† There is no trace of either Kulinism or hypergamy among the Deccan Sāraswats. The Durgā in Eastern India is worshipped with animal sacrifice and her greatest festival is in autumn and not in spring.

Mangesh is perhaps abbreviated from the Sanskrit Mangalesh. At Girnar in Kathiawad there is a temple dedicated to Shiva known as Mangalesh. There is near Prabhaspattan a sacred place called Kushasthali. The Gujrati-speaking Sāraswats are to be found in Kathiawad, Cutch and Broach. The latter claim the Punjab as their original home; both tradition and their social customs which resemble those of the Punjab Sāraswats to a considerable extent support this view. The Broach Sāraswats worship Durgā as the Jwālāmukhi. A Sāraswat of Bhuj (Cutch) has written the history of his community trac-

\* Sah. Kh. U. A I verses 47-50.

† Sah. Kh. Mangesh Mahātmya, chpt. V.

‡ Sah. Kh. U. A. III.

§ History of Mangesh Devasthān, p. 3.

|| Saraswati Mandal, p. 28.

¶ Vincent Smith—Early Hist. of India, 3rd Ed.

\* Ind. Antiquary, XXI, 264.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar, India, p. 206.



ing its origin to Kashmir. Deccan Sāraswats have however no common traditions with the Gujrat Sāraswats. A theory based on names of towns or imaginary identifications of towns or places has no other merit than that of transcendental speculation.

The historical value of the evidence of the Sahyādri Khanda is impaired by the uncertainty of dates, by the sacerdotal predilections of its author or authors and by the manifest inability to draw any distinction between fact and fancy. The legend of Parashurām is not peculiar to Goa. It is shared in the Konkan and Malabar by other Brāhmans. It is not unlikely that the hardy Aryans of Northern India settled early in the picturesque and hilly country of Goa which was admirably adapted for such colonization. The Aryans seem to have crossed the Vindhya and aryanized\* the Deccan between the 7th century B. C. and 350 B. C. Dr. Braganca Pereira (Juiz de direito) of Bicholim who is writing a history of Goa holds that it was, in ancient times, divided into little republics (Republican Pequenas) of Brāhman settlers. The Portuguese found Hindu Goa divided into village communities (comunidade). Albuquerque maintained intact the constitution of the village communities and shortly after his death a code called *Foral de Usos e Costumes* was compiled to serve as a guide to his successors. The Sāraswats are still the land-holding class in Goa. Wealthy landholders such as the Visconde de Pernam, Baron de Dhepé and Baron de Kalapur sit down to meals daily with over a hundred men of the community. Their palaces are liberty halls and "pej" or rice gruel is served to all comers who care to ask for it.

It is a tradition in the Deccan that two northern Sāraswats, Deva Sharmā and Loma Sharmā, returning from a pilgrimage to Rameshwar found a Sāraswat community in Goa. The newcomers were welcomed by the old settlers who by giving them their daughters in marriage accepted them in their own community.† Deva Sharmā of the Vātsa Gotra founded the temple of Mangesh. His nephew Shiva Sharmā founded subsequently the temple of Shāntā-Durgā. The descendants of the Sharmās are known as Shenwis. The Shenwis alone, wherever domiciled in India,

form the congregation of the Shāntā Durgā and Mangesh and are entitled to this day to manage the properties dedicated to the temples. Other Sāraswats have no voice in the management. The Sharmās, it is believed at Kavale, were Kashmiri Sāraswats.

The Kashmiri Brāhmans call themselves Sāraswats. It is a tradition in the Happy Valley as well as among the Kashmiris domiciled in India that when Kashmir was forcibly converted to Islam eleven Sāraswat families managed to escape conversion by hiding themselves in the mountains. Of these, seven families remained in Kashmir and four families emigrated to the plains; of the latter, two families went to the Deccan and married Deccan Sāraswat women and two families are said to have settled in the Punjab. These four families are called Bhanmasi. In later times the descendants of the old Kashmiri called Malmasi came down and settled in the plains and intermarried with the Bhanmasi of the Punjab.

The Sāraswat men have well cut features. The complexion of the men generally is what is called "wheat coloured", but some are fair. The women "are generally graceful with dark lustrous eyes and black hair."‡ R. B. Burton who visited Goa in 1851 said of the Sāraswats that in appearance they

"are of a fair or rather light yellow complexion. Some of the women are by no means deficient in personal charms and the men generally surpass in size and strength the present descendants of the Portuguese heroes. They wear the mustachios but not the beard, and dress in the long cotton cloth with a cloth round the waist very much the same as in Bombay. The head however is usually covered with small red skull cap instead of the usual turban. The female attire is the Sari with a long armed bodice beneath it and their caste is denoted by a round spot of kumkum or vermilion upon the forehead between the eyebrows."†

The Shenwis have mainly followed the literary line. They have been well known in the Konkan as Pantoji (Panditji), schoolmasters. Goa, according to Tavernier, was one of the finest harbours in the world rivaling those of Toulon and Constantinople and monopolised the trade of the West Coast. But the Shenwis never took to trade. The legal and literary talents of the Sāraswats and their capacity for political employment made them indispensable to the Portuguese.

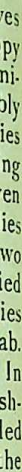
\* Sir R. Bhandarkar, Early History of the Deccan, Ch. III.

† Konkanakhyan, p. 64. CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

\* Enthoven—Tribes and Castes of Bombay

† Goa and the blue mountains, p. 107.





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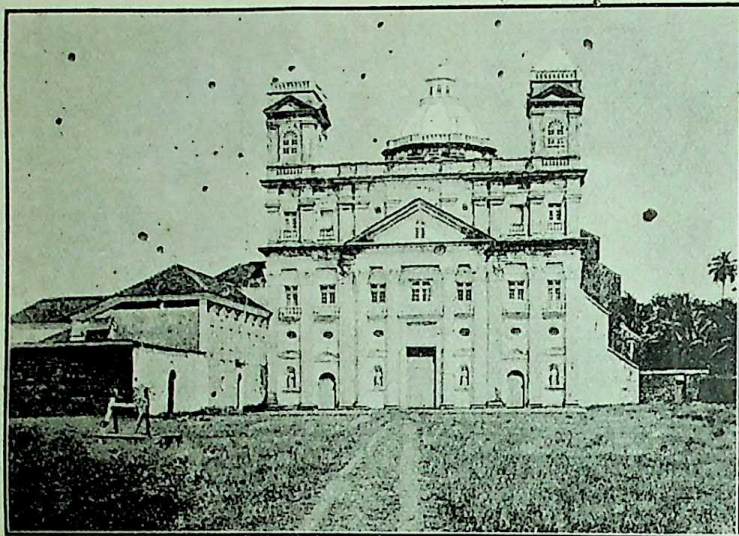
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"Another Saraswat, hailing originally from the North and now settled in Lucknow, U. P., as a Barrister, Pandit Bishen Narain Dhar, is presiding over the Indian National Congress. On his return from England, some years ago, there was a storm in a teapot and even a Sabha named after him and called Bishen Sabha was started to support him in opposition to the Sabha and Dharam Sabha.





Ancient Temple of Shambhu—Now A Catholic Convent, Old Goa.

The storm has subsided and Bishen Narain Dhar is one of the rest of the Sāraswats there.\*

The late Spiritual Guru of the Shenwis Atmānand Saraswati of Kavale advocated the amalgamation of all the Deccan Sāraswats. He said,

"The majority of the Sāraswat Brāhmins are in the North; those in the Deccan are in the minority. When one thinks of the numerous subsections that have sprung up in this minority one cannot but feel sad at the result."

Atmānand Saraswati brought about the marriage thirty-two years ago of a Shenwi girl with his lay disciple the learned grammarian Pandit Ghanshyām Misra, a Kashmiri Sāraswat. Pandit Ghanshyām was a native of Akhnoor in Kashmir. His father's name was Gokul Chandra. He became a worshipper of Shāntā Durgā. In the history of caste the most persistent and effective factor is the *jus connubium*—the body of rules and conventions governing marriage. The influence of these rules penetrates every family. The math and the shrine of Shāntā Durgā at Kavale are the repositories of the traditions, instincts and manners of the Deccan Sāraswats, for as Anatole France says,

"Nous ne dépendons point de Constitutions ni des Charts mais des instincts et des mœurs."

Old Goa today is a city of ruins. The pig infests the classic streets. In Goa the pig occupies the same social position which

he does in Ireland. In the magnificent churches are to be seen struggling native Christians at their devotions in the morning; for the rest of the day the curse of desolation hovers over the ruins. No effort is made to preserve the ancient monuments and finding it easier to carry away stone than to quarry it, the Goanese are helping to destroy them. Old Goa is visited by Catholic pilgrims when the remains of St. Francis Xavier are exposed by permission of the Pope. (Expasiao de S. Francisco Xavier). The ancient Hindu temple of Shambhu, converted into a convent, is the only Christian religious edifice in Goa possessing a dome. It contained an old well closed by the Christians, the miraculous water of which was supposed to cure leprosy. The Hindus believe that a cross cannot be constructed on this building, repeated efforts having proved abortive.

The Portuguese revolution of 1910 was proclaimed as a new era in Goa. The republicans were against the Catholic Church. The republican minister who drafted the separation law of church and state declared that "within three generations after the passing of the separation law the Catholic religion will be annihilated in Portugal." At Panjim the chapel in the Government House was converted into the office of the Governador Geral. Equality of all religions was proclaimed in Goa and the Hindus obtained the right to build temples.

While the old religious ideals of Portugal have thus passed away and her Churches are neglected, the temple of Shāntā Durgā brings together the Sāraswats domiciled in distant parts of India inspired by the poetry of religion. When I approached the temple I saw built and carven in stone the heroic age of Mahārāshtra. The sentiment about the Shāntā Durgā fostered and stimulated by the men and women of the race represents the higher qualities of courage, devotion and self-sacrifice which go to the making of nations. The temple is cherished not merely as a matter of faith but as a principle of honour.

R. S. PANDIT.

\* Saraswat Conference, 1900, Dhule Public Domain, Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar, India.



## INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

*International Relations :—Eight Lectures delivered in the United States in August, 1921, By Viscount Bryce. Mamillan & Co., London. Price 10 s. 6 d. 1922.*

IN this book of nearly 275 pages, we find mention of every country in the world from China to Peru, but none of India. We get as far as the Indian Ocean, or even the Afgan War, and there is one reference to Hindu immigrants, with regard to whom the policy of prudent British statesmen is said to be to 'temporise', as they can never induce the colonial authorities to give the Hindus free entrance. Even in the reference to the Washington Conference for the reduction of armaments, where the Rt. Hon'ble Mr. Sastri was our representative, we find India ignored, whereas dominions find honourable mention. If, as our English friends assure us, we have now acquired an international status, being one of the original members of the League of Nations, and signatories to the Peace Treaty of Paris, there is no indication of it in the volume before us. And yet it is not a book written by one who does not know us. Viscount Bryce and Lord Morley are the two great political writers of England who are also practical statesmen, and when in a book written by one of them, expressly dealing with international relations, India is ignored, the presumption is that the so-called elevation of India into the domain of international politics is a myth.

But though India is ignored, Islam and Turkey are not. Whereas Lord Bryce has nothing but flattery for the powerful American nation, and is guarded in his reference to every other nation including even Germany, in the case of Turkey he lets himself go with a vengeance, and delights in using blood-curdling epithets. Pan-Islamism "is an attempt to renew the original aggressive movement of the Muslim peoples against the Christian, and in particular to strengthen the Turkish Sultan by exalting him as Khalif of the whole Mohammedan world." Enver Bey is a "varnished ruffian", the Nationalist Turks of Angora are "the remnants of the infamous Committee of Union and Progress," Turkey is "barbarous and decrepit", "an uncivilized state, with a government stupid as well as savage", and "the misgoverned subjects of the sultanate ought to have risen against it, destroyed it, and created new states", the Turkish government had in 1915 "massacred a million of its Christian subjects, women and children as well as men, under circumstances of cruelty and brutality unsurpassed even in the East."

(this is a charge to which Lord Bryce returns again and again, as at pages 69, 199, 208, 264), "that profligate rascal, Ismail, formerly Khedive of Egypt"; though the government of Turkey is 'detestable', Islam continues to spread among the black races in the interior and along the East coast of Africa, but apart from the fear that it may become a warlike and aggressive force, it is admitted that "its spread is to be desired, for it raises the negroes to a higher level of self-respect". To illustrate the dictum that an Ambassador is "an honest man sent to lie abroad for the good of his country", Lord Bryce selects the case of the Turkish ambassador at London in 1886, "himself a man of exceptional ability", who assured the author that the Sultan was bent upon promoting the welfare of his Christian subjects. It is no wonder that Lord Bryce is strongly against the modification of the Treaty of Sevres (p. 69).

In the chapter on Diplomacy and International Law, the author gathers some maxims from the biographies of famous diplomats, as well as from his own experience which go to show that there is nothing esoteric or abstruse in the art of diplomacy, and that any man of ordinary prudence and strong common sense, coupled with a knowledge of history and of men and manners, can shine in that field. It was hitherto the accepted doctrine that 'the chief duty of diplomatists was to deceive', and Lord Bryce is of opinion that "the relations of states being what they are, no European or Asiatic government can tell the world all it is doing or means to do." But the author draws the line at the bribing of persons to steal documents,—a service which, nevertheless, some governments, according to the author, have asked and received from their envoys. The author says that from the biographies of eminent diplomats it appears "how crafty, how cynical, in a sense how unscrupulous" diplomacy was thirty years ago. Has it, one wonders, changed for the better since then?

The only parts of the world, as Lord Bryce points out, that have not yet been appropriated by the European races are China, Mongolia, Japan, Persia, Abyssinia, Siam and some fragments of Western Asia. It is these European races whom Lord Bryce asks to combine to maintain the peace of the world (that is to say, their world-dominance) and he appeals to



America not to keep aloof from the combination. "The world cannot be left where it is now. If the peoples do not try to destroy war, war will destroy them. Some kind of joint action by all the states that value peace is urgently needed." Unfortunately for those who like Lord Bryce would divide the world among the white races, there is no hope of union among them. As he says, "all the nations must bear their share of the blame" for the great war, and "there is not one that doth righteousness, no, not one." "Not to speak of the angry class struggles within the nations, we see that national hatreds and rivalries and ambitions are hotter than ever and threaten to bring fresh strife upon us. It is possible—I hope it is not probable, but it is possible—that so soon as an intermission of fighting has enabled the hostile peoples to recover their fighting capacity, some of them will fight again. The great lesson of the war, that the ambitions and hatreds which cause war must be removed, has not yet been learned, and if this war has failed to impress the lesson upon most of the peoples, what else can teach them? This is why thoughtful men are despondent."

Elsewhere the author says that the "causes of war do, no doubt, abound in the old world, but whatever may befall among the smaller states, a period of at least nominal and formal peace between the great Military Powers may well last for eight or ten years at least." But in Lecture II, describing the settlement made by the peace treaties, Lord Bryce is less sanguine, and can only say, 'no country is in a position to resume fighting this year or next year or the year after.' In that lecture he shews that the peace settlement bristles with inequities capable of furnishing ample material for fresh wars, to which those who have accepted it, under protest are looking forward for the redress of their grievances. Had he lived to participate in the Genoa Conference, with its secret treaties, and disclosures regarding the menacing growth of the Red Army of Bolshevist Russia and of its alliance with Germany, Lord Bryce would hardly have ventured to predict, from the physical and financial exhaustion of the Great Powers, that the peace will last at least for two years more. In South Eastern Europe, the subterranean fires which might at any moment threaten a volcanic eruption are, according to the author, as hot as ever; the disregard of the appeals to the principles of nationality and self-determination in the case of the Macedonians has prepared the ground for future trouble; the treaty of Trianon "has prepared in Hungary a fruitful soil to receive the seeds of future war"; "Germany which though reduced in area is still Germany, still a mighty nation [no longer Huns?], full of intellectual force united by a strong national sentiment, the most populous of European countries after

Russia, with inhabitants industrious as well as highly educated and with great productive industries." In the opinion of the author, there is not one of the treaties of 1919-20 which is not already admitted to need amendments. Some are utterly condemned by the results already visible. Some are seen to be leading straight to future wars. One hears people say all over Europe: 'The sort of peace these negotiations have given is just as bad as war'!! This is due in the author's opinion to the fact, that the peace did not throw up any master-mind or superman to guide the destinies of Europe, and "there is no saying more false than that which declares that the Hour brings the Man." It was fondly believed that the costly preparations for war and the crushing burdens they entailed would end all war. "The price has been paid and the result desired has not been attained." Paris was bombarded during the war by a gun with a fifty mile range; since the war, the author tells us, a gun has been invented with a hundred mile range, and more deadly poison gases have been invented. The powers represented at Paris forgot to recognise the principles of nationality and self-determination and left some grievances unredressed and created other grievances that did not exist before, "thus sowing the seeds of future trouble." The alliances which were formed during the war are broken reeds. "As Aristotle observes, a friendship based on reciprocal advantage comes to an end when the advantages disappear, and in the constant changes of politics this frequently happens. Alliances are unstable: the partner of today may be the secret or even open enemy of tomorrow." Those who have followed the history of the Anglo-French *entente* will have no hesitation to admit the truth of this statement.

In the chapter on the influence of commerce on international relations, we find the following: "Where a region inhabited by savage tribes or by a semi-civilized people is believed to be rich in any source of natural wealth, its possession is coveted by civilized states, and has often become a subject of strife between them.....some important oil-fields, such as those of Mexico and those of Persia, lie in regions whose inhabitants have neither the skill nor the capital nor the security for life and property that are needed to enable the natives of the country to develop them, so the foreign capitalist jumps in, a syndicate is formed, and some state standing behind the capitalist syndicate tries to back it up, because the Government of the foreign state wants oil for the purposes of war. Hence many complaints, many misstatements and misunderstandings, many intrigues, many efforts by means not always above suspicion to obtain the lion's share of the spoil. Thus ill-feeling may be created between states, because groups of private citizens seeking their private gain, and inducing their governments to press their claims do not care how much international ill-will they provoke. This, it will be seen, is written entire



ly from the point of view of the exploiting states, among whom jealousy and friction is promoted by the cupidity of the concessionaires, but not a word is said from the point of view of the victims of such exploitation. We read of an extremely delicate instrument recently invented which reveals the subterranean mineral wealth of the world to the inventor in his laboratory in Paris at whatever depth from the surface and in whatever quarter of the globe it may lie hidden and this invention, while whetting the greed of the industrially organised white races, is sure to prove a source of further exploitation and impoverishment of the coloured and dark races, unless, as Lord Bryce fears, by promoting mutual rivalry and discord, it makes the strong nations of the west fly at each other's throats and thereby hastens their destruction.

The fate of the Tsar draws forth some reflections from Lord Bryce which are worth quoting. "I remember going to a religious service in the city of Tomsk in Siberia on the Name Day of the heir to the Russian throne. The whole official and university population of the town was gathered in the cathedral and the service went on for three hours.....and everybody seemed to be animated not only by piety but by a religious devotion to the Tsar and the Romanoff family. Less than five years from that date, at a town in the Ural Mountains on the confines of Siberia, the Tsar and his wife and daughters and the innocent little heir for whom the people in Tomsk prayed, were all barbarously murdered, and not a voice of pity, not a voice of anger was raised anywhere within the Russian empire. You may say that the masses were terrified, but what became of the loyalty? How easy it is to overrate appearances! Everybody believed that the Tsar occupied a semi-divine position in Russia, and that the empire of the Tsar was based, and solidly based, upon that feeling of religious devotion to his person. But all vanished and even the Russian church was not able to avert it."

Viscount Bryce thus sums up the chief causes of war in modern times:

"First. There is still, as there was two thousand years ago, the lust for territory, arising sometimes from a belief that the larger a state's area, the greater is likely to be its military power and general prosperity. This passion once strong in monarchs, can infect peoples, even the freest and the most enlightened. The old, unreasoning, violent impulses to self-assertion and aggression may blaze up as hotly in popularly governed nations as they did in savage tribes.....any pretext will do;—the protection of a native race, a large share in some natural product needed for warfare, a blessing to be conferred upon the world by the diffusion of a higher type of civilisation.

"Second. Religious hatred, potent in the East, not quite extinct in some parts of Europe.

"Third. Injuries inflicted on the citizens of one state by the Government or citizens of another. These, when not redressed, have often brought nations to the edge of war and sometimes pushed them over, but the establishment of Courts of Arbitration now goes some way to supply a safeguard. [Does it?]

"Fourth. Commercial or financial interests. These do not so often directly cause a resort to arms, but they create ill-feeling and distrust which make any passing incident sufficient to evoke complaints or threats.

"Fifth. Sympathy with those who are oppressed by an alien government, especially if the sufferers belong to a kindred race, is a more creditable motive for hostilities than the others I have mentioned, yet has sometimes been used as a pretext for war when justice might have been otherwise attained."

"Sixth. There are wars due to fear. A nation which sees its neighbour or neighbours growing in military strength, and finds reason to mistrust their purposes, is tempted to anticipate the dreaded attack by itself attacking. Wars thus arising are sometimes described as Preventive."

According to Lord Bryce the "idea of a super-state embracing the whole world, a federation of peoples ruled by Parliament of Man, appeals to the imagination. Its vast scale is fascinating. It holds out a hope of incalculable blessings. But it is a phrase, and only a phrase, a phrase which has no definite relation to anything in the actual world of our time."

Every political community, whatever its form, be it republican or monarchical, is in a state of Nature towards every other community: that is to say, an independent community stands quite outside law in relation to other similar communities, owning no control but its own, recognising no legal rights to other communities and owing to them no legal duties. Every state is a law unto itself, recognising no control or responsibility except that which the public opinion of the world imposes. Another fundamental proposition of international relations is "that the prospect of improving the relations of states and peoples to one another depends ultimately upon the possibility of improving human nature itself.....those who seek to improve human society must begin by working as individuals; not to throw the responsibility upon the communities, but to remember that the community is what the men and women make it." Progress in physical science and material well-being does not, the author warns his readers, necessarily mean that advance in intellectual and moral strength in which the true welfare of mankind consists. "Is there," he asks in another place, "anything in history more tragic than the fact that the power which our knowledge and mastery of the forces of Nature has given us can today be used to do far more evil to the human race than it has ever done before?"



of time than any recent discoveries have enabled us to preserve it?" And what an appalling loss of lives is the world-wide devastation and ruin of the late war responsible for! "Ten millions of men have perished. In England and France half the flower of our Youth, many of whom would have been the leaders of the coming generation, minds that would have enriched the world in thought and learning, in scientific discovery, in literature and art, have been lost to us, a loss far greater than that of any material things." The prevention of wars is therefore in the interest of every country. "Good will sweetens life; nobody is so happy as he who rejoices in the happiness of others. Hatred has never brought anything but evil." The combination of peace-loving States has become absolutely imperative for the safety of this distracted world; lying under the shadow of a great catastrophe. We must remember that "under every political constitution that has been devised the Many are inspired and led by the Few." It is therefore for the leaders of thought and action in every state to take the lead in this matter and bring about the desired combination.

This is the note on which the book closes, but there is one weak link in the chain of arguments by which Lord Bryce would enforce his appeal and it is sad to reflect that even a man of his calibre is unconscious of it though it is fatal to the prospect of the world peace which he, in common with all other thoughtful men of the West, yearns for. That weak link lies in the historical fact that a mere combination of the strong can never last so long as it is meant to repress the weak, and prevent them from disturbing the peace of the world by a breaking out against their masters, under whatever specious name they may hold them under subjection. There is not a word in these lectures to indicate any sympathy for the weak and downtrodden races of the earth, no indignation at the treatment they have received at the hands of the strong powers to whom Lord Bryce makes his appeal, and no manifest desire to ameliorate their political condition or do them justice. Rather, there is too much of violent abuse of Turkey because she is weak and too much of flattery of the United States because she is strong. It is easy to see that whenever Lord Bryce refers to moral principles, they are intended

to apply to the white races as between themselves, and there is nothing to show that their application was meant to extend to the relations between the white and the coloured peoples. When, for instance, Lord Bryce says that hatred has brought nothing but evil, he evidently means the hatred of England by Germany, and not the hatred of the Colonial towards the Indian, nor the hatred of the American towards the Negro, though the principle applies equally in both cases. The result, it may be, is more palpable in the one case than in the other, owing to the weakness of one of the parties concerned, but God's mill grinds small, though it may grind slow. No combination of the strong would prevent mutual jealousies from breaking out for the fleshpots of Egypt if the latter are not considered as sacred as the home-lands of the ruling races themselves—thus ultimately leading to their own destruction. So long as the European politician closes his eyes to the unspeakable wrongs that are being done by the races of European origin to Asiatic and African races, and fondly believes that all will be well if only the strong white races hold together, there can be no peace in this world. Had men of the stamp of Lord Bryce felt as vividly as the truth of the case requires that moral principles are not limited by geographical boundaries but are of universal application, and that in the international relations of white communities their breach is not more fraught with danger to the peace of the world than in the relations between the white and the coloured peoples, diplomacy would have taken a higher and altogether different tone and the future would have presented a much more cheerful outlook. When even the best among the Western statesmen cannot transcend their narrow moral outlook, and can by no stretch of the imagination bring the non-white races within the scope of the international code of morality they would prescribe for themselves, and so long as the Great Powers continue to regard the weaker races as fair game for the play of all their lower instincts and propensities which they have perforce to keep in check in their mutual dealings with one another, the prospect of a new Heaven and a new Earth, of which Lord Bryce dreams, will remain as far off as ever.

POLITICUS.



# THE ARISTOCRACY IN THE MUGHAL EMPIRE

## I

EUROPEAN travellers were struck by a peculiar institution in the Mughal Empire, viz., the seeming absence of hereditary property among the nobility. As Captain Hawkins remarked in 1608,

"The custom of this Mughal Emperor is to take possession of his noblemen's treasure when they die, and to bestow on his children what he pleaseth; but commonly he dealeth well with them, possessing them with their father's land, dividing it amongst them: and unto the eldest son he hath a very great respect, who in time receiveth the full title of his father." (Purchas, iii. 34.)

Here we must bear in mind that with the exception of vassal kings and zamindars there were no hereditary landholders in Mughal India. All the nobility were mere servants of the State and held their fiefs on service tenure; their lands, naturally, lapsed to State on their death. But why was their personal property escheated?

Bernier stigmatises this custom as barbarous and describes its effects thus:

"The barbarous and ancient custom obtains in this country, of the king's constituting himself sole heir of the property of those who die in his service." (P. 163.)

"As the land throughout the whole Mughal empire is considered the property of the sovereign, there can be no earldoms, marquises or duchies. The royal grants consist only of pensions either in land or money [i. e., *jagir* and *tankha*], which the king gives, augments, retrenches, or takes away at pleasure.....The *Umarahs* of Hindustan cannot be proprietors of land, or enjoy an independent revenue, like the nobility of France. Their income consists exclusively of pensions which the king grants or takes away according to his pleasure. When deprived of this pension they sink at once into utter insignificance." (Pp. 5, 65.)

"The king being heir of all their possessions, no family can long maintain its distinction, but after the *Umarah's* death is soon extinguished, and the sons, or at least the grandsons, reduced generally to beggary and compelled to enlist as mere troopers in the cavalry. The king, however, usually bestows a small pension on the widow, and often on the family, and if the *Umarah's* life be sufficiently prolonged, he may obtain the advancement of his children by royal favour." (Pp. 211-212.)

We find in the letters of Aurangzib such passages as the following, which may startle the reader unaware of the real state

of things in that age: "Amir Khan [the governor of Afghanistan for 20 years] is dead. I, too, shall die. Write to the *diwan* of Lahore to attach the property of the deceased with extreme diligence and effort, so that nothing great or small, not even a blade of grass, may escape. Get information from outside sources and take possession of everything found at any place whatever, as this is the rightful due of God's slaves." (*Ruqat-i-Alamgiri*, letter 99.)

There was a regular department of the State, called *Bait-ul-mal*, where the property of all persons dying without heir was deposited. The property of the nobles and officers of the State after their death was also escheated and kept in this department.\* The reason alleged for this act of seeming spoliation was that all officers were in debt to the Government, having taken money and things in advance or enjoyed the revenue of their jagirs, without clearing their account with the State by setting off against these advances the amounts earned by them by their services and the number and equipment of the men kept in arms by them for the Emperor. Such making out of military accounts was a very slow affair and was hardly ever completed in the life-time of any officer. Again, the exact salary earned by a general could be ascertained only after he had brought his contingent to the muster (*dagh wa tashiha*), when the horses were passed and branded and the retainers were identified by their descriptive rolls (*chihra*). This took time and was never satisfactorily done except in peace time. We often read of officers being excused the *dagh*; i. e., paid without the muster and inspection of their troopers, in times of pressing need or trouble.

Military accounts, especially in an age when wars are frequent, are naturally badly kept and take many years to be

\* The *Manual of Officers' Duties* mentions another department called *amul* for this purpose; but we cannot trace it elsewhere.



written up and audited. Even under the East India Company, as late as the middle of the 19th century, the salaries of the English soldiers who had taken part in the First Sikh War remained unadjusted for a long time, and they were paid in full only after three or four years. (Barcroft's *From Recruit to Staff Sergeant*, published in 1885.)

In Mughal India the case was worse. The dilatoriness and dishonesty of the clerks of the military pay-office were the despair of the soldiery. Shihabuddin Talish, an officer under Mir Jumla and Shaista Khan in Bengal (1659-1665), draws a vivid picture of the trouble which the soldiers had to undergo on this account. He writes, "I strongly hope that some one would fully and freely report to the Emperor the distress among the soldiery and the fact of their being harassed and crushed by the oppression of the thievish clerks... The army is treated by the Hindu clerks and drowsy writers as more degraded than a fire-worshipping slave and more unclean than the dog of a Jew." Then follow graphic details of how the stipend-holders "had to flay themselves in the *kachari* before they could get their dues." [Bodleian MS. 589, f. 129b-131a.]

Manucci illustrates the power and insolence of the clerks of the military pay-office by means of an anecdote:

"In Shah Jahan's time a soldier went to draw his pay and the official could not attend to him at once as he was busy. The angry soldier threatened him at once saying he should have to smash his teeth with his sword. The official said nothing, and paid him.....The sharp-witted scribe, to get his revenge for the menace, wrote in the book where was entered the soldier's descriptive roll that he had lost two of his front teeth.....Some months elapsed and the soldier appeared again for his pay. The clerk opened the book, and found by the description that he was not the man entitled to that pay, for he had two front teeth more than were recorded in the descriptive rolls. The soldier was put to confusion..... he was obliged to have two front teeth extracted to agree with the record, and in that way got his pay." (*Storia*, ii, 449.)

Thus the military accounts could never be cleared, and no officer's exact dues and liabilities to the State could be ascertained in his life-time and hardly even after his death. Under the circumstances the safest course for the Emperor was to escheat the dead man's property immediately after his death, and then think of settling his account with the Government Treasury.

Thus, Maharajah Jaswant Singh owed a heavy sum to the State, and in 1670, when he was appointed *subahdar* of Gujrat for the second time, it was stipulated that he would refund to the State two *lakhs* of rupees every year, till his debt was cleared. (*Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 292.)

In 1678 the Emperor learned from the *diwan* of Bengal that Shaista Khan, the viceroy of the province, had drawn from the Treasury one *kror* and 32 *lakhs* of Rupees in excess of his pay for twelve months. The amount was ordered to be entered as a loan to him. (*Masir-i-Alamgiri*, 170.) Again, in 1683 the *diwan* reported that the Emperor had ordered 52 *lakhs* of Rupees spent in the Assam expedition to be recovered from Shaista Khan, but that nobleman had replied that only 7 *lakhs* were so spent and the rest of the amount was an advance for Bengal. The Emperor then modified his order, by demanding the refund of 7 *lakhs* only. (*Ibid*, 234.)

## II

Thus, we find that it was the invariable practice of the Mughal Government to confiscate to the State, at least temporarily, the property of every one of its servants immediately after his death. Though it was in effect an act of spoliation, the theory was not so shamelessly immoral. The Emperors never claimed to be heirs of any dead subject's property unless he died without leaving personal issue or legal heirs. [And even then, the property belonged to the Muslim community and not to the sovereign himself.] They only wanted to ensure the payment of their dues from the dead man, who had been their servant and taken advances and loans from them.

Among the twelve ordinances issued by Jahangir on his accession in 1605 was one to the following effect: "When any infidel or Musalman died in any part of my dominions, his property and effects were to be allowed to descend by inheritance, without interference from any one. When there was no heir, then officers were to be appointed to take charge of the property, and to expend it according to the law of Islam, in building mosques and sarais, in repairing broken bridges, and in digging tanks and wells." (*Tuzuk*.) But it is not clear from this whether he gave up the system of confiscating the property of deceased servants of the State, especially if they had running accounts with



the Treasury. Aurangzib's *farman* on the subject, dated 24th July 1666, is more explicit. He instructs the provincial *diwans* thus: "Whenever a servant of the State dies leaving no heir and owing nothing to the Treasury on account of advances (*mutaliba*) made to him, deposit his property with the store-keepers of the *Bait-ul-mal*. If he owes anything to the State, then take only the amount due and place the rest of his property in the *Bait-ul-mal*. If he has left any heir, attach his property three days after his death. If the property exceeds the amount of his debt to the State, take that amount only and deliver the balance to his heir after the latter has legally established his right. If the dead man owed nothing to the State, give his whole property to his heir, after legal proof." (*Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 281-282.)

This is a very upright and reasonable rule. Manucci, however, asserts that it was never really followed by Aurangzib. He says of this Emperor :

"He seizes everything left by his generals, officers, and other officials at their death, in spite of his having declared that he makes no claim on the goods of defunct persons. Nevertheless, under the pretext that they are his officers and are in debt to the Crown, he lays hold of everything. If they leave widows, he gives them a trifle every year and some land to furnish a subsistence." (*Storia*, ii. 417.)

A careful examination of the records of Aurangzib's reign shows that Manucci's charge is not true. No doubt there was heart-breaking delay in adjusting and auditing the running account of every dead nobleman with the State, and during this prolonged interval his property was kept under lock and seal in the *Bait-ul-mal*, but not intentionally for ever nor out of an unjust love of spoliation. Thus, we read that when Shaikh Muhiuddin, the *Sadar* of Gujrat and *amin* of *jazia*, died, his property was not confiscated because his son Akramuddin stood security for his father's dues to the Public Treasury. (*Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 336.)

That Aurangzib's ordinance of 1666 was not a false pretence, can be inferred from the fact that in the latter days of the Empire, it is stated among the duties of the *Bayutat* that he was the officer for attaching and making a list of the property of deceased persons in order to secure payment of the dues of the State as well as to safeguard the property for the heirs of the deceased.

Again, the *Zawabit* gives a list of the pro-

perties actually under escheat in the year 1697; and here we find only the properties of noblemen who had died within the preceding eight years and not earlier (697-716). This may be easily explained by the supposition that the accounts of these nobles had not yet been completely made up, and the escheat was therefore provisional or *pendente lite*.

### III.

From a careful study of the Mughal practice of escheating noblemen's property after their death and Aurangzib's rules and actual practice in this matter, I am impressed by the belief that here we have the Quranic law of the sacredness of private property superimposed upon an older and alien institution, namely the communal ownership of all property among a nomadic tribe.

The Turks, as the so-called Pathan and Mughal rulers of Delhi really were by race, were originally a nomadic people and they retained the essential characteristics of nomads to the end, though thinly veiled under the pomp and institutions of empire. Such a tribe migrates from pasture to pasture, conquers fresh lands and accumulates plunder and slaves under the leadership of their chieftain and with the solidarity of a family and army in one. Their chieftain is the patriarch of the clan, and the individual members of the tribe (or, more correctly, the heads of the different families) are merely the limbs of the great trunk of the tribe. They derive their strength from the tribe and render up their acquisitions to it as the property of the tribe. The tribe might gain accessions to its number from outside by marriage (as among the Brahuis) or by the adoption of slaves, but the newcomers are made a part and parcel of the tribe as if born to it.

The most adventurous spirits among the tribe, when settled in a country like India, received an advance of men and money from their chieftain, carved out conquests or brought in plunder, and enjoyed these during their life time. But when they died, all their acquisitions legally lapsed to the Government, because they had really been the factors or *entrepreneurs* employed and financed by the tribal State. This practice and tradition of the homeland of Turan continued under the Mughal empire in India. There was no nobleman who was not a servant of the State, a holder of *mansab* or rank in



the army. He received advance of money (*musaidat*) and materials (*ajnas*) or other payment on account from the Public Treasury, and his business was to achieve fresh gains for the State by employing these means, and in the end he was to be rewarded by his grateful employer with a share of the profits. Therefore, all his acquisitions were legally bound to revert to the State, as the earnings of a Christian monk must to the order to which he belongs, and those of an *entrepreneur* of industry must to the treasury of the joint-stock company that he serves. By the essence and fundamental theory of the Turkish social and political organisation, private property on the part of a State official was as inconceivable as in a Catholic monk or a factory manager within the factory.

The whole history of the Muslim period in India—in the Deccani States as well as in the Delhi monarchy—illustrates the expansion of Islamic dominion through the individual efforts and initiative of private adventurers, financed by the State and backed by all its regular forces in the case of a reverse,—and not through the operation of the salaried servants of the Crown acting under the direction and control of the central Government.

Therefore, the State claimed what was left of a life's acquisitions due to its own sanction, money aid, and armed support. The Empire was communal property, and the Amir, Sultan or Padishah, as the Commander of the Faithful, was entitled to escheat all the earnings of the officers in this army of Islam. He was only the trustee of the rights of the Sovereign Congregation (*jama'at*) of true believers, as the tribal patriarch had been in the days before their conversion to Islam. Whether the nomadic society was patriarchal (as before Islam), or theocratic (as under Islam), property was equally communal.

This basic idea of the Turkish State could not be reconciled with the more modern notions of the sacredness of private property and the responsibility of the king before God to see that none was robbed of his heritage,—which is a part of Islamic private law. And Aurangzib's regulations represent an attempt at a compromise between the two, and the final abandonment, in outward profession at least, of the nomad idea of communal property and the adoption of the modern idea of individual private property.

sessions,—i.e., the conversion of mere agents of the State into private owners. It would, in my opinion, be unhistoric to suppose that these escheats were originally due to a wicked desire of the autocratic sovereign to seize his subjects' rightful property when they were no longer alive to defend it.

#### IV

Whatever the origin of the custom of escheat may have been in theory, its practical effect was, all the same, most harmful. It has been defended by a modern writer as, tending to keep up the efficiency of the Government by extinguishing a parasite class living on hereditary wealth, and forcing everybody to go through a struggle for the survival of the fittest. But a little reflection will show that this was not the case in reality. One effect of the escheat system was to induce the nobles to live extravagantly and squander their all on women, show and unproductive luxury during their life-time, as they knew very well that they could leave nothing to their family, and the Emperor alone would profit by their abstinence. The material waste and moral degradation of the highest class in society were, therefore, deplorable.

Again, the insecurity of the nobles' fortunes prevented the accumulation of private capital and the economic growth of the country which depends on capital. The general level of civilisation and culture, too, was lowered, because each generation had to work from the bottom upwards, instead of benefiting by the acquisition and progress achieved by its predecessor.

Sometimes, the people proved more than a match for the extortionate State. We read of certain nobles' personal property being secretly given away by them to their children or cunningly hidden before their death.

In the case of some others their effects were looted by their servants and neighbours before the Emperor's agents could come to attach them. We even read of Amir Khan's widow offering fight to the imperial officers who demanded the surrender of her husband's property.

The political effect of the escheat system was most disastrous. It prevented India from having one of the strongest safe-guards of public liberty and checks on royal autocracy, namely, an independent hereditary peerage, whose position and wealth did not depend on the king's favour in every generation, and



who could, therefore, afford to be bold in their criticism of the royal caprice and their opposition to the royal tyranny. It also made the Mughal nobility a selfish band, prompt in deserting to the winning side in every war of succession or foreign invasion, because they knew that their lands and even personal property were not legally assured to them, but depended solely on the pleasure of the king *de facto*. The baronage who extorted Magna Charta from King John, or cheerfully courted exile, confiscation and even death under the banners of King Charles I, was impossible in the Mughal Empire. Mediæval India had no independent nobility or trading class to act as a barrier between the Emperor at the top of society and the poor peasants and common people at the bottom. Such a Government is most unstable and unsound, alike from the political and economic points of view.

The *Bait-ul-mal* was the Store Department where, strictly speaking, only the property of persons dying without heirs should have been kept, but where in actual practice, as we see from Aurangzib's regulations, the escheated property of noblemen was also deposited. In Islamic theory, this *Bait-ul-mal* belonged to God and its contents could be spent only in works of charity and not on the Emperor's personal expenses nor on the general needs of the Government.

As Aurangzib writes in one of his letters, "The Khalifa of the Age (*i. e.*, the reigning sovereign of the country) is the trustee [not 'owner'] of the *Bait-ul-mal*." [*Ruqat* No. 107.] And, again, in two other letters, "It is my duty to increase the property of the *Bait-ul-mal*" and "All presents made (to the sovereign) appertain to the *Bait-ul-mal*." [I. O. L.M.S.]

Practical effect was given to this theory late in his reign. We read that in 1690 he issued an order appointing the provincial *qazis* as the *amins* or trustees of the branch *Bait-ul-mal* of their province. Thus, the *qazi* of Ahmadabad was ordered to present to the *faqirs* and other beggars of the city 1500 coats (*qaba*) and the same number of blankets, priced Rs. 1½ and 8 annas respectively, every winter. (*Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, 356.) The amount of Rs. 6000 was spent on the clothing of the poor in that city; but there were other occasions for charitable gift out of this fund.

## V

The information at our disposal does not enable us to distinguish between the limits of work of the *Bait-ul-mal* and those of the other charity fund which the Emperor used to place in the hands of the *Sadar* or Civil Judge and Almoner. The *zakat* or tithe of 2½ per cent on the incomes of Muslims had to be devoted solely to pious works, such as maintaining Islamic scholars, students of theology, monks and beggars, giving dowries to maidens, &c. Strictly speaking, the *zakat* ought to have been paid into the treasury of the *Bait-ul-mal* because the king could not lawfully touch any portion of it for his own use. Manucci tells us that in the closing years of Aurangzib's reign, when the Deccan war had exhausted his treasury and he was beset by financial embarrassment, the Emperor at first wished to open and use the contents of the great store-houses filled with goods left by deceased persons, or with property collected in Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan's times from the men, great or small, who had been servants of the State. But afterwards he ordered these store-houses not to be opened—lest the officials should steal more than half of the things in his absence from his northern capitals. (*Storia*, ii. 255.)

The *Manual of Officials' Duties* clearly distinguishes between the *amual* or confiscated property of officers who died indebted (*mutalibadar*) to the State and which therefore rightfully belonged to the Public Treasury, and the *Bait-ul-mal* or store-house of the property of heir-less persons, which rightfully belonged to God and could be spent on charitable purposes only. But Aurangzib's extensive correspondence never mentions such a department as *amual* and only speaks of depositing the escheated property in the *Bait-ul-mal*. Moreover, the *Manual* shows that the three departments of *ajnas* (*i. e.*, Government stores kept for being advanced to the subahdars and generals on loan), *amual* (*i. e.*, the escheated property of such officers after death), and *bait-ul-mal* (or the effects of persons dying without any heir),—were placed under one superintendent (*darogha*) and one set of accountant, store-keeper and watchmen. Munitions were supplied to the officers from this department on account. Hence, it appears that the surplus powder, shot, lead and waterproofs (*mom-jama*) of the artillery department



The *Manual* (pp. 90-92) instructs a newly appointed darogha of this store-department as to his duties.

## VI

The sovereign had another hold upon the nobility in Mughal times. The peerage consisted largely of able adventurers from Central Asia and Persia and a few from the Turkish empire. The persons were most highly valued for their polished manners, literary ability and capacity for managing the finance and accounts. There was always a keen desire on the part of the Mughal emperors to seduce to their service the higher officers of the Shah of Persia and the Sultan of Turkey, because, as Aurangzib frankly says, the Persians were intellectually far superior to the Indian Muhammadans, while the western Turks brought with them something of European culture and science. For such officers, when they fell into disgrace in their homeland or dreaded the wrath of their native sovereign, a flight to India opened a road to honour, power and wealth far surpassing what they had enjoyed at home. This stream of recruits, who contributed much to the success and glory of the Mughal Empire,

naturally dried up on account of the increasing anti-Shia spirit displayed by Aurangzib in his later years and the preponderant Sunni majority of the Indian Muslim population, and partly also on account of the rapid decay of the royal power and civilisation of Persia under the later Safavi Shahs at the end of the 17th century. But so long as it lasted, high-born Persian and Arab refugees in India were welcomed and the Emperors were glad to marry their sons and grandsons to the daughters of these newcomers.

The latter, however, had to give hostages for their fidelity to their new master. No Persian or Turkish refugee was confirmed in any high post or promoted to independent command, so long as he did not bring his family from his native land and settle them in India, for that was the surest means of preventing their escape from this country. They had also to place one of their sons as their representative (*wakil*) at Court, really as a hostage for their good conduct during their absence in the provinces. The Hindu Rajahs had to do the same.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

## MUKTA.DHARA

## A BERLIN REVIEW.

THE following review of the Poet Rabindranath Tagore's new play has recently appeared in the leading Berlin newspaper, called the 'Vossische Zeitung', in the 26th May, 1922, edition. [It is interesting to note that the newspaper is now sold for 1 mark in Berlin itself and for 2 marks in the provinces.] The Editorial note was as follows.

"Our contributor, Dr. Hellmuth Von Glasenapp, lecturer in Berlin University and wellknown as a translator of Rabindranath Tagore's works, reports to us about a new work of the Indian poet which he has not published in any European tongue. He has sent us the following account:—

A NEW PLAY BY RABINDRANATH  
TAGORE

"The monthly review called *Prabasi*, (The Wanderer) which is published in Calcutta, gives in its April number the original Bengali text of a new drama by Rabindranath Tagore.

"The drama is called *Mukta-dhara*, that is to say, 'The Free Current',—this being the symbolical name of a large waterfall, which is the centre of the action of the play, and round which all the scenes group themselves.

"The story which forms the foundation of the Poet's drama is this:—

"Bibhuti, the Engineer of King Ranajit of Uttarakut, has finished building (after



twenty-five years' work) a large embankment, which makes it possible to keep back the waters of Mukta-dhara, so that they cannot reach the lower territory of Shiu-tarai. The people of Shiu-tarai are in subjection to Uttarakut, but often mutinous and rebellious.

"The King Ranajit hopes to be able, by keeping back the waters of Mukta-dhara, to force the tribes of Shiu-tarai into obedience. The celebration of the completion of the machinery of the embankment for restraining the water is about to be held. A great inauguration festival is to be kept on that very day, in a temple of the God Shiva, which is situated in the immediate neighbourhood of the waterfall Mukta-dhara.

"While the monks of the temple sing a hymn of praise in honour of their God Shiva, different characters come on the stage and exchange their opinions about Bibhuti, the engineer, and his work, which is called the Machine.

"Some praise his as a great genius and sing a solemn hymn in honour of the Machine. Others try to belittle his merits, and recall to memory the multitude of human lives that have been lost in the process of building the embankment. Some people, belonging to the King's house, try to induce Bibhuti not to complete finally this plan of stopping the water, which would prove so destructive for the inhabitants of Shiu-tarai. But these people have no more success than the deputation of citizens from Shiu-tarai itself, who, under the leadership of the ascetic, Dhananjay, appear in numbers before the King.

"But it is in the person of the Crown Prince, Abhijit, himself, that the monarch encounters the strongest resistance of all. This young prince is a farseeing friend of humanity. He cannot admit the idea, that all the population of Shiu-tarai shall be sacrificed to the immediate political advantage of the State of Uttarakut.

"The Crown Prince, Abhijit, had been sent by his father, King Ranajit, to this subject country of Shiu-tarai. When he was there, as Viceroy, he had tried to

act for the benefit of the people of the land rather than for his own people. In so doing, he had caused a passage, which before had been closed, to be opened in the Nandi Pass, through which trade might flow freely. Ways of access were opened out during his rule, which would be of the greatest benefit to the subject State,—tortured as it was by famine,—but which might economically be to the disadvantage of the ruling State of Uttarakut.

"The motive, which induces Abhijit to insist on the destruction of the Jantra-*raja's* (Machine King's) work, is not merely humanitarian. It has something in it which is mystical. The Crown Prince has heard by chance, that he is not in reality the son of Ranajit at all. He learns that he had been found by the King, when a tiny child, near the waterfall called Mukta-dhara. King Ranajit had adopted him, because he had found, on this baby's body, the marks which proved that he would, when grown up, become World Emperor.

"The Crown Prince feels himself to be the son of the rushing water. The Water-fall has a kind of fascination for him. He believes in a close spiritual relation between the Water-fall and himself. The life and current of Makta-dhara are, therefore, for him the source of his own life. Consequently he imagines it to be his sacred duty to see that all men should enjoy the power of the Water-fall's current.

"By order of King Ranajit, the Crown Prince is arrested; for the King supposes that if he is punished, he will amend. Meanwhile, the people of Uttarakut are getting restless. Some of the citizens wish to punish the Prince for siding with the people of Shiu-tarai against his own people of Uttarakut. Others wish to set him free. But at last, a fire, which has been intentionally caused, breaks out. The Crown Prince, Abhijit, is thus enabled to regain his freedom. He departs, to do what he has made up his mind to do.

"He enters by stealth the machine-works, at the head of the embankment, and sets the levers at work, which make the water rush out in torrents and thus



bring about the destruction of the Machine. He himself meets his own death in this heroic act. He had contemplated death. In setting the Water-fall's current free, he had found his own freedom. He returns to the womb of his mother, the water-fall Muktaadhara.

"The tragic fate of the Crown Prince Abhijit is the key to the comprehension of the symbolism of the whole drama. Human progress is only possible, when men lift themselves high above narrow and selfish prejudices; when those who are the chosen leaders of humanity do not hesitate to renounce all earthly goods and to sacrifice life itself for the ideal. The fight between an exaggerated nationalism, (which tries to reach some merely temporary political success by injuring others) on the one hand, and the idea of the brotherhood of all men, on the other, find in several episodes in this drama a precise and perfect expression.

"For example, as a representative of a cheap form of patriotism, we see a school-master appear on the stage with his pupils. He has made these pupils learn a pompous hymn of praise to the King Ranajit. By this method, the school-master hopes himself to get a higher salary. He has also inflamed his boys with a fanatical hatred against the people of Shiu-tarai, because "they have a bad religion." He finds that their noses are not of the same curvature as those of their loftier neighbours of Uttarakut.

Therefore they must be "inferior". In his "over-zeal" he assures his pupils that the aim of all history is to secure the empire of the world for the dynasty of Uttarakut. He puts forward the divine right of the royal house of Ranajit to pursue this course of oppressing other people by all the means in its power, as a fact grounded on scientific data.

"The opposite view to this is expressed by the ascetic Dhananjay. His teaching does not meet with much success or understanding, but he tries to show that it is necessary to endure evil *till it ceases by itself*. Retaliation, or resistance of evil by evil, only provokes fresh evil.

"The figure of Dhananjay, the ascetic, bears a certain resemblance to the national leader of India, at the present moment, Mahatma Gandhi, who was recently arrested and imprisoned. But the Poet himself remarks in a note that he had already presented that figure of the ascetic, and many of the aphorisms he uses, in his play called 'Prayaschitta' (Expiation) nearly fifteen years ago.

"Rabindranath Tagore's new Bengali drama is thus rich in solemn episodes and spiritual allusion. The prose of the drama is often interspersed with songs in rhyme.

"In the present political circumstances of Indian life, the play of Mukta-dhara is certain to be received, in India, with a vivid interest. Only the future can determine to what extent it will be effective on the stage.

## LICHEN

Lichen to the cherry tree  
Clings like mournful memory.  
Pale the lichen as a face  
Seen when levin lights a place.  
Feet of lichen slowly climb  
Going their way apart from time.

Lichen owns a lineage  
Older than the Golden Age.  
When the world is doomed at last  
Lichen will be clinging fast.  
How looks it, brother cherry-tree,  
The lichen that has covered me?  
E. E. SPEIGHT.



## REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

[ Books in the following languages will be noticed : Assamese, Bengali, English, Gujarati, Hindi, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Punjabi, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu, and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticism of book reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, M. R.]

### ENGLISH.

**THE WHEEL OF FORTUNE :** By Mahatma Gandhi. Ganesh & Co., Madras. 1922. Price Re. 1.

Both in conception and design, this collection of the Mahatma's Essays on Swadeshi, the boycott of foreign cloth, hand spinning, and the use of Khaddar must be pronounced to be admirably adapted to the purpose for which it is intended. The design on the cover, which is 'clothed in Khaddar', is a spinning wheel, and on the back is an extract from the Mahatma's message from Sabarmati Jail, with the headlines : 'Use Khaddar : Save sixty crores annually.' The book is nicely printed in bold type and well bound and in 160 pages. It gives the whole theory and practice of handspinning. Sriji Dwijendranath Tagore, in his introduction, says : "Many critics and some friends of Mahatma Gandhi have found fault with his desire to introduce simpler methods of spinning and weaving and to do away with much of the complicated machinery of modern civilisation. ...Every civilisation in the history of man has reached a certain point after which there has been one possibility only for it and that was absolute relapse into semi-darkness in order to give place to a new and higher civilisation...now with regard to modern civilisation all the signs of the times show that it has failed lamentably and is gradually tottering to a dishonoured grave...In order that the spiritual civilisation of the future may have a real chance of growing in an atmosphere congenial to it, Mahatma Gandhi's demonstration of the right path should be welcomed. His emphasis on simplicity of life and on the simplification of the machinery of living must be realised as a supremely essential condition of the coming of the new era."

**TO MY COUNTRYMEN :** By Deshabandhu Chittaranjan Das. To be had of the Ahimsa Asram, Triplicane, Madras.

Mr. C. R. Das's presidential address and other messages given about the time of his incarceration.

**INDIA ON TRIAL :** Published by the Ahimsa Asram, Triplicane, Madras. Price As. 10.

This is a collection of some of the Mahatma's messages culled from the *Young India* and the *Navajiban* and written on the eve of his arrest. The proceedings of his historic trial have also been given in full, and two appreciations by 'Passfoot' John

son and by the Rev. J. H. Holmes, who calls him the greatest man of the world today, have been printed at the end of the book. It is neatly printed and must be considered to be remarkably cheap at the price at which it is offered for sale.

**GANDHI AND TAGORE :** Seshadri & Son, 12, Venkataramier Street, Madras. 1922. Price As. 4.

This is a study in comparison, reprinted from the *Standard-Bearer* of Chandernagore and believed to be from the pen of Aurobindo Ghosh, and certainly in the high literary quality and critical ability which it reveals, quite worthy of him. The writer has seen neither of the two heroes of contemporary India, but "Every day I catch the inspiring echoes of their hallowed existence." "We cannot have Tagore for ourselves [only]. He is a gift of the gods to humanity. Mahatma Gandhi is India's own saintly son...His soul is made of selflessness. Service is his daily bread, sacrifice his guiding star." "The idea that he has uttered cannot be arrested...Great men perish, but greatness never." "Gandhi is good : Tagore is transcendental." "By the truth of his love has the Mahatma won the heart of his country. There we all acknowledge defeat at his feet" is Tagore's homage to Gandhi. According to Gandhi, the hungry millions of India must learn to live before they can aspire to die for humanity. One stands for India in transition, the other for India's culture soul. The concentration of all the available energies of the entire people in a vast and whole-souled national yoga, and not renunciation merely, is Tagore's solution of the problem of attaining Swaraj. "There are no two persons in the world whom I revere so much as Tagore and Gandhi. Long live Gandhi ! Long live Tagore ! I look up and see Tagore. I look ahead and see Gandhi. Glory to the land in which they are born, Vande Mataram."

**WHAT THE STUDENTS OF OTHER COUNTRIES HAVE DONE (RUSSIA) :** Saraswaty Library, 9, Ramanath Mazumdar Street, Calcutta. 1922. Price As. 4.

This neatly got up pamphlet gives us the story of how Russian students organized themselves actively for political and economic freedom, and cheerfully sacrificed their young lives for their ideal, the fruition of which was thereby rendered inevitable.

**FOR INDIA AND ISLAM :** By Ali Brothers : Saraswaty Library, 9, Ramanath Mazumdar Street, Calcutta. 1922. Price Re. 1-8.

This closely but neatly printed book of 120



pages contains all the important speeches of the brothers Ali, and a full report of the proceedings of their trial at Karachi. It is a good compendium of the Khilafat cause, but if one may be permitted to venture a remark on this remarkably able presentation of the movement by its most prominent protagonist, Islam is much more in evidence here than India, and one wonders how far the extra-territorial and religious patriotism of Islam can be harmonised with the national patriotism of the Hindus for building up the India of the future of which we have all been dreaming dreams.

**KRISHNA'S FLUTE:** By Prof. T. L. Vaswani. Ganesh & Co., Madras. Re. 1-8. 1922.

This is another book from the prolific pen of Prof. Vaswani. He takes up detached passages of the *Gita* as his text and expounds them in his own way. "Krishna the hero was essentially Krishna the lover. His love was given to all humanity... I look for the day when our 'nationalism' will be filled with this aspiration: 'When shall our race be one great Brotherhood?' As love of the family must fulfil itself by growing into love of the nation, so must 'nationalism' fulfil itself by growing into humanism. This note—the note universal—is sounded again and again in the Bhagavad-Gita."

**APOSTLES OF FREEDOM:** By Prof. T. L. Vaswani. Ganesh & Co., Madras. Price Re. 1. 1922.

The author takes as his text some of the pioneers of the noble band of men who have advanced the cause of freedom, *e. g.*, Guru, Nanak, who preached the brotherhood of Hindus and Muslims, Abraham Lincoln, the emancipator of the Negro, Tolstoy, who laid down the law of non-resistance, Tilak, the Indian apostle of Swaraj (the chapters on Tilak, are the best in the volume), a Japanese patriot, and some Irish idealists, *e. g.*, Pearse and Macswiney. Needless to say that the volume is full of inspiration for young and old alike and is sure to command a large sale. The printing, binding and general get up, as usual, are excellent.

#### POLITICUS.

**INDIAN CURRENCY AND FINANCE:** By Mr. K. C. Mahindra, B. A. (Cantab): S. Ganesan & Co., Madras. Rs. 3 and Ans. 8.

This monograph secured the Bomanji prize, offered by the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau of Bombay. Unlike an ordinary prize essay, it is a valuable contribution to one of the most difficult branches of Indian Economics. Mr. Mahindra is not satisfied with barren criticism of the currency policy of the Government but sets forth a constructive scheme of monetary reform.

Our author has done well in emphasising at the outset a fact which is often forgotten by the public that "the concrete in the foundations" of our currency structure has up to this time been "Government convenience." (P. 9.) "The conversion of international currency into Indian currency and *vice versa* did not effect itself automatically at the desire of the holders but rested upon the convenience of the Secretary of State for India." (P. 8.) The main problem of Indian currency is in

opinion, the problem of good money, *i. e.*, a currency which satisfies the condition of stability and elasticity. Now, the stability question has an internal as well as an external aspect. The internal stability means the stability of purchasing power "in terms of the local commodities in general" (p. 31), whereas external stability simply means stability of exchange. It is true that there is a very intimate relation between the two aspects of the stability problem; and in these days of inflated paper currencies when the old mint pars of exchange have become matters of mere antiquarian interest in many countries, the relative purchasing power of the currencies of different countries determines their rates of exchange. But Mr. Mahindra has clearly shown that to a country like India the stability of the purchasing power of currency is far more important than mere stability of exchange.

Unfortunately the spirit of John Company still seems to sway the minds of our currency experts who look at the question from the standpoint of the export and import merchant rather than of the Indian ryot.

It is true that the ryot's interest is often made a convenient peg to support their arguments but the exchange problem which looms large before our currency authorities affects the ryot for good or for evil far less than is ordinarily supposed.

We fully endorse our author's remark that "stabilising the rupee in terms of commodities is the real problem; stability of exchange is a minor issue." (P. 105.)

While we agree with our author so far, we doubt whether it is now desirable to adopt his scheme of stabilization. Mr. Mahindra claims no originality for his proposal, which is based on the principles laid down in Prof. Fisher's *Stabilizing the Dollar*. There is now in America "a gold dollar of constant weight and varying purchasing power." Prof. Fisher wants to introduce "a dollar of constant purchasing power and therefore of varying weight."

Some of the necessary requisites of the scheme are—

(1) The withdrawal of gold coins from circulation, the circulating medium consisting only of paper money;

(2) An accurate index number of prices;

(3) An impartial and efficient body of government officials having a thorough grasp of the theory and practice of the monetary science.

The first requisite already exists in our country. On account of the recent fall in the price of silver, the rupee has again become a note printed on silver. But the determination of an accurate index number of prices is beset with many difficulties.

The Government of India has recently expressed its inability to construct an all-India index number to solve industrial disputes. Our main objection is that under Mr. Mahindra's scheme we shall purchase theoretical stability of our standard money in relation to goods at too high a price. We shall introduce a new element of instability in the gold basis of our currency.

The scheme would not check, as Prof. Fisher himself admits, violent fluctuations in prices, but the scheme wants to remove



does not cause serious inconvenience in our economic dealings.

Another objection to Mr. Mahindra's scheme is that it will leave the control of our currency in the hands of officers, many of whom are mere novices in currency management. The work in the currency department often forms a small link in the long chain of the official career of the Civil Servant. As soon as an I.C.S. officer has acquired sufficient experience in currency matters, he may be transferred to some other department where his experience will be of little use while his successor may have hardly any knowledge of even the theory of currency. It is not, therefore, surprising that our currency authorities should commit egregious blunders.

The ultimate control over Indian currency is also "in the hands of those whose outlook is Imperial rather than Indian." As Mr. Mahindra aptly observes, the charge of 'Heads I win, tails you lose' against the India Office wherever Indian and English—or even Colonial—interests come into conflict is not an empty one despite vehement assertions to the contrary." (P. 10.) The sale of Reverse Councils from January to September, 1920, in spite of strong and repeated protests of the Indian public, shows the dangers of leaving the management of our currency in the hands of officials who are not amenable to public opinion. So long as our currency is not managed by real experts, solely in the interest of India, the less managed it is, the better for us.

In order to reduce governmental interference to a minimum, we suggest that the rupee should be made completely a token coin, valued at one-tenth of a gold sovereign and should remain a legal tender, say up to £ 10 while our standard currency should consist of gold sovereigns and gold notes, the latter issued, not by the State but by the Imperial Bank which should be more Indianised and made more responsive to Indian public opinion. State-managed currency may, under proper safeguards, be a step towards ideal currency, but when these safeguards are wanting, gold currency, involving less official interference, is preferable.

Though gold has lost its old stability of value it is not impossible to restore that stability by an international agreement. One objection against gold currency is the loss involved in the actual circulation of the yellow metal. Prof. Keynes tells us "that it is extravagant to use gold as a medium of exchange," but in a country where more than half the revenue of the central government is spent in maintaining not a very efficient army and where crores have been and are being spent in playing the Great Mughal at Delhi, a little "extravagance" in currency matters may be easily pardoned. If proper facilities for convertibility into gold are given, the circulation of gold notes is also bound to increase, reducing the actual use of gold as a medium of exchange. The danger of the gold in circulation being hoarded to a large extent, is also quite imaginary.

Those who object to gold currency on the grounds of economy should note that a single official blunder in a managed currency may cause greater loss than the loss due to the actual circulation of gold coins. The sale of Reverse Councils in 1920, apart from the loss of about 36 crores of rupees (the proceeds of the sale of £ 55,382,000 Reverse Councils in 1920 amounted to Rs. 46,92,55,857 only) to the

Government itself, is, to a great extent responsible for the present slump in our trade and the ruin of many Indian merchants. The persistent demand of the Indian public for gold currency is therefore not so 'foolish' and 'unreasonable' as it appears from the standpoint of economic theory.

It is not possible to examine in detail all the problems, especially the elasticity problem of Indian currency discussed by Mr. Mahindra. We congratulate him on his scholarly production which, we hope, will meet with the recognition it deserves from all those who are interested in Indian currency.

J. C. SINHA.

DRAMATIC DIVERTISSEMENTS : By V. V. Srinivasa Iyengar, B. A., B. L. Everyman's Ltd. Rs. 2.

The art of social portraiture has never been a conspicuous feature of Indian Drama, romanticism having always exercised a profound fascination on the Indian dramatist to the exclusion of everything else. The royal author of *Mricchhakatika*, it is true, portrayed with admirable vividness the pulsing life of the ancient city of Ujjain, but it is unique in the annals of Sanskrit literature and the tradition never struck root in the land. The theatrical companies of to-day in the country have unfortunately not made much of an advance in the matter and we must therefore extend a specially cordial welcome to this volume of bright social sketches of South Indian life. The author is a well-known figure in the social life of Madras, and is one who for the last two decades has laboured hard for the resuscitation of Indian Drama through the premier dramatic association of the Southern Capital, the Suguna Vilasa Sabha. The sketches reveal keen and penetrating powers of observation; a sense of subtle humour expressed with an almost Meredithian refinement—though he has also occasionally sought delectation in farce—and also a certain underlying profundity of outlook on the social problems of the day. One of the most serious obstacles which the Indian dramatist has to face in the delineation of the social environment through the medium of English is with regard to the incongruity of making his characters speak the foreign tongue in circumstances in which one is almost certain that the language spoken could not have been English. Mr. Srinivasan has minimised such incongruities to the utmost, and what is more interesting, while the conversation of his characters is in racy English, it also seems to come out most naturally from their lips. This writer would like to mention the interesting fact, not so much for recalling a personal reminiscence, as for complimenting the sketches on their dramatic qualities that he has seen most of them acted on the stage with remarkable success—the volume is therefore not only for the appreciation of the student in the closet, but also for the play-goer and stage-manager. We have great pleasure in recommending the volume to educated Indians all over the country and to foreigners who wish to have glimpses of Indian social life. The Hon'ble. Mr. Justice Coutts-Trotter of the High Court of Judicature, Madras, writes an appreciative foreword to the book.

A SOUL'S POSEY : By Zero. Panini Press, Allahabad. 8 as.

A small pamphlet of reveries and reflections in poetic prose.

P. SESHADRI.



**BAHAI: THE SPIRIT OF THE AGE:** By *Horace Holley*. Approved by Bahai Committee on Publications. Published by Brentano's, New York. Pp. 212. Price not known.

"In 1844 a Persian named Mohammed Ali, then twenty-four years old, announced publicly that he was the forerunner of a Manifestation, who, after a certain interval, would declare himself to be that 'Ancient', that 'Lord', that 'Alpha and Omega' foretold by all the prophets and that from him would emanate a new cycle of spiritual civilization encircling and uniting the world.

Nineteen years later, in 1863, Hosein Ali, a Persian prince of purest Aryan lineage, announced himself as the Manifestation declared by Mohammed Ali. The title by which Hosein Ali has since been known is that of Baha' O'llah, or the Glory of God. The title of Mohammed Ali is that of El Bab, meaning the Door, or Gate.

Baha O'llah passed from the flesh in 1892 at the Turkish prison city of Acca, Palestine, leaving as the last of his works a covenant or Testament, designating his eldest son Abbas Effendi, as his spiritual successor among men responsible for and able to carry on his function and purpose in the world. Since that date, Abbas Effendi has been known by that title of Abdul Baha or Servant of the Glory. (Pp. 26-27.)

The book is divided into three parts.

The first part, The Cosmic Trinity, deals with the source of Bahaim in its three founders. The brief chapters concluding the first part have special references to the relation of Bahaim to some established body of opinion, such as Christianity, Judaism, Christian Science and to current problems under the head of Science, Politics and Economics.

Part two is a compilation from the utterances of Baha O'llah and Abdul Baha, selected from every possible source.

Part three contains two important Bahai documents. In conclusion, a Reading List is added which includes all books known to the author as being strictly Bahai in origin or theme."

The Bahai movement is full of meaning. The Spirit of the Age is manifesting itself in many ways and who will deny that it is a manifestation of the same spirit. The movement is deserving of an attentive examination.

We have read the book with interest.

**POSITIVE RELIGION:** By *J. C. Ghosh, M. A., B. L., M. L. C.* Published by *H. L. Banerjee at the Calcutta Law Press, Bhowanipur*. Pp. 676. Price not known.

The book is divided into 15 chapters under the following heads:—(i) Introduction, (ii) Examination of different systems of Religion, (iii) Philosophy and Religion, (iv) Science and Religion, (v) The Mystery of Pain, (vi) The Mystery of Evil, (vii) The Evolution of the Good, (viii) Definition of Positive Religion, (ix) God and Self, (x) Prayer and Worship, (xi) Mysticism, (xii) The Positive Rule of Right Conduct, (xiii) Woman and Positive Religion, (xiv) Religion and Common Life and (xv) The Life Eternal.

Our author's Positive Religion is to be sharply distinguished from Auguste Comte's Positive Religion which he considers to be a "travesty of the name". He has "laboriously gone through the objections of philosophy and science to the belief in supernatural God on the 18th May, 1922 (the Gandhi Day).

and religion and" has "found that God and the close relationship of man and God are real and that man feels the necessity of worshipping and loving the Father and the Lover above all lovers. Such belief and consciousness of such relationship constitute religion. It has been attempted in these pages to prove that they are based on sure foundations of the facts of life and of science and not on revelations, fancies and specious arguments. A religion having such a foundation can surely be termed positive" (p. 429).

The book is written in non-technical language by a man of wide reading and liberal ideas, and will be profitably read by a wide circle of readers.

**A SHORT HISTORY OF THE ORDER OF SAINT JOHN OF JERUSALEM:** By *E. M. Tenison*. Published by the Society of S. S. Peter and Paul 32 George Street, Hanover Square. Pp. 119. Price 5 shillings.

It contains a history of the order from its earliest foundation in A. D. 1014 to the end of the Great War of A. D. 1914-1918.

**GOSPEL OF GANDHI:** By *T. C. K. Kurup, M. A., LL. D., Bar-at-Law, Editor, Madras Review*. Published by the Madras Review office, Madras. Pp. 135. Price Rs. 2-8.

The book is divided into sections under the following headings—Introduction, Gandhi's Personality, Philosophy of Life, A Christ-like Life, Love of Humanity, Philosophy of Jail Life, Satyagraha or Truth Force, Passive Resistance, Conception of Duty and Conclusion.

The author differs "from Mahatma Gandhi wholeheartedly both on politics and on economics" and has "avoided in this book all reference to politics."

According to him "Mahatma Gandhi is the greatest teacher that descended on Earth since Gautama Buddha and Jesus Christ" and "the basic principle of Mahatma Gandhi's teaching is Renunciation in Action."

**THE GAYATRI:** By *P. T. Srinivasas Iyengar*. Printed by *Srinivasa Varadachari & Co., Madras*. Pp. 43. Price As 6.

The booklet deals with the text of the Gayatri, its authorship, meaning and uses, rival Savitri mantras, the Sandhya rite, the Gayatri Vidya, etc.

**THE BUDDHA'S PATH OF VIRTUE: A TRANSLATION OF THE DHAMMAPADA:** By *F. L. Woodward, M. A.* With a foreword by *Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam*. Published by the Theosophical Publishing House, Madras and London. Pp. 102.

There are 423 verses in the Dhammapada but in the translation, the last verse is numbered 424. It is due to the fact that the verses 360 and 361 of the original have been numbered 360 in the translation and the verse 386 has not been translated. These mistakes have been corrected in the "Errata."

The translation is metrical and fairly accurate.

**IN THE SIKH SANCTUARY:** By *Prof. T. L. Vaswani*. Published by *Ganesh & Co., Madras*. Pp. 95. Price Re. 1-8.

Author's political ideal preached through Sikhism.

**MESSAGE OF THE BIRDS:** By *Prof. T. L. Vaswani*. (My Motherland series.) No. 2. Pp. 78. Price Re. 1.

"The Message of the Swaraj movement," published on the 18th May, 1922 (the Gandhi Day).



THE PLANNING AND FITTING UP OF SCHOOL LABORATORIES. (BUREAU OF EDUCATION, INDIA. OCCASIONAL REPORT, No 9) : By M. C. S. Ananta-padma-nabha Rao, M.A., L. T. Published by the Superintendent of Government Printing, India, Calcutta. Pp. 40 and 18 Plates. Price Re. 1-4.

There are nine sections under the following headings : (1) Introduction, (2) Accommodation of General Science, (3) Elementary Laboratories, (4) Laboratory Accommodation, (5) General Description of Rooms, (6) Details of Working Benches, (7) Lecture-room and Fitting, (8) Details of Special Fittings, (12 subsections) and (9) Care of Laboratory Fittings and Furniture, and an Index.

It will be useful to those who are engaged in the planning and fitting up of laboratories.

भक्तिवर्धनी (BHAKTI-VARDHINI) : By Srimad Bhallabhacharyya. Published by Mulachandra Tulsi-das Telivala, Vakil, High Court, Khakhar Buildings, C. P. Tank Road, Girgaon, Bombay. Pp. iv + 100. Price Rs. 2.

This book contains the text of the *Bhakti-vardhini* and 14 commentaries. The whole book has only 11 verses and is considered, by the Vallabha sect, as the foundation of *Bhakti Marga* (Path of Devotion). A summary of the book has been given in English in the "Editor's Note" (page 99).

"TO MY COUNTRYMEN" : By Desha-bandhu Chitta Ranjan Das. Published by Vande-Mataram Karyalaya, Vellore. Pp. 58, Price As. 8.

The undelivered presidential address intended for the Indian National Congress, 1921.

NOTES ON ELEMENTARY SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY AND THE DUTIES OF GOOD CITIZENSHIP : By F. W. de Tivoli, A. M. Inst. C. E. Pp. 48. Price Re. 1. (Published by W. W. Newman & Co., 4 Dalhousie Square, Calcutta.)

Elementary lessons on social and political virtues : intended for the use of schools.

NITYAHNIKAM (THE DAILY RITES OF EVERY BRAHMIN) : Edited and published by R. Subrahmanya Vadhiar, Kalpathi, Palghat. Pp. 127. (Pocket Edition.) Price Eight annas.

Intended for orthodox Brahmans.

THE ARYAN IDEAL (My Motherland Series No. 1.) : By Prof. T. L. Vaswani. Published by Ganesh and Co., Madras. Pp. 96. Paper. Price Re. 1.

The Hindu Ideal is well depicted. Our author's language is eloquent. The book is worth reading and worth buying.

THE DRINK AND DRUG EVIL IN INDIA : By Badrul Hassan. With Foreword by Mahatma Gandhi. Published by Ganesh and Co., Madras. Pp. vi + 161. Price Rs. 2. (Foreign 5s.)

The book contains 12 chapters and 5 appendices under the following heads :—

(i) In ancient India ; (ii) The Influence of Buddhism ; (iii) Under Muslim Rule ; (iv) The Various Systems ; (v) The Policy ; (vi) Sources of Revenue ; (vii) Excise Revenue ; (viii) Consumption ; (ix) and (x) Opium ; (xi) Hemp Drugs and (xii) Retrospect and Conclusion and Appendix : (a) The

Story of the Jar (A Pali Jataka) ; (b) Statement showing Excise Revenue ; (c) Statement showing Provincial Revenue ; (d) Statement showing Opium Revenue and (e) Statement showing number of shops.

In this book the author has traced the growth of the drink and drug from the Vedic time to the British Period and this he has done without any partisan spirit. The ways and means suggested by the author are sane, practical and worthy of consideration.

The book is recommended to our countrymen.

"THE BOOK OF THE RELIGION OF LOVE, THE WORD OF LOVE" : By Mahendra Pratap (Raja). Pp. 89.

Claims to be "the new Bible, the new Koran, the new Veda, the new Dhammapad, in fact new common holy book for the whole world."

PROGRAMME OF THE HAPPINESS PARTY : By Mahendra Pratap (Raja).

The object of the "Party" is "to establish and work for happiness throughout our human race".

All communications should be addressed to the first secretary of the Happiness Party, Potsdamer strasse, 26A III, Berlin, or Rudols-strasse, 4 III, Leipzig, Germany.

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH.

HINDI.

CHIN KI RAJYAKRANTI : By Sampurnananda Barma, B. Sc., L. T. Published by the Pratap Pustakalaya, Cawnpore. 1921. Pp. 192 + VII. Price Re. 1-8.

Mr. Barma, is surely to be congratulated for presenting to us in a very lucid style and interesting way the main incidents of Chinese Revolution of 1911. Both the historical perspective of old-day China and the occurrences of recent history are as charming as works of fiction. How the sons of Han awoke after age-long stupor and inaction, and how, as a writer said, in the "Christian Register" of Boston "At last our self-complacent dream of superiority has been shattered by the exhibition of mental sagacity, moral power, and admirable self-control in a nation that was supposed to be fettered and shackled by superstition, formalism, and a tyrannical ruling class"—are but most wonderful facts of modern history, and we thank Mr. Barma for this most readable work. The facts are mainly compiled from English sources, and the sympathy and power of the author make them interesting. The incidents recorded by Dr. Ramlal Sarkar from personal experiences (published in the "Modern Review" of 1912) have been incorporated in this work. The four appendices add to the utility of the book.

This work of Mr. Barma cannot but show how little we do and care to know of China, which was connected with India from very ancient times. The history of China of all ages is replete with wonderful facts, e. g., the silk industry, the mariners' compass, Confucius' doctrine, the Great Wall, Chinese Buddhism, the art of printing, the pigtail, the peasant-soldiers, the river-telegram, etc., etc. The proclamation of Emperor Kwang-hsu, issued in 1898, which says, "With death, I shall be worthy of my 400,000,000 subjects"...and "I saw no other course but to risk



my life on behalf of the Empire is the charter of new life for China. It may not be out of place here to remark that few modern literatures of India possess useful information about modern China, so this well-written work will be welcome to the public.

UCHCHHWAS : By Sumitranandan Pant. *Scottish Mission Industries Company Limited, Ajmere. 1922, Pp. 15.*

This book contains two poems on "Sawan" and "Bhādo." It is not everyday that we get such nice poems in modern Hindi literature for review. Both the style and sentiments of the poems, and specially those of the former one, are a great advance on the ordinary Hindi poems which are almost invariably of the old type. The flow and rhythm of the poems mark the charm and freshness of all these but two poems. The get-up of this little work gives credit to the publishers.

SWAMI RAMTIRTH. PT. I : *Published by the Ramtirth Publication League, Lucknow. 1919. Pp. 108 + XIV. Price As. 8.*

Some lectures and conversations of Swami Ramtirth, the great Vedantist of Northern India, are published in this volume. It will be welcome to the adherents and admirers of the Swami whose memory is perpetuated in this fitting manner.

RAMES BASU.

### SANSKRIT.

CARUCARITAVALI : By Pandit Siddhagopala Kavyatirtha, Haldoer, Bijnor. *Pp. 14 + 163. Price Re. 1.*

In this volume in Sanskrit prose the author has presented us with the life-sketches of seven of the great religious teachers of the world, viz., Buddha, Sankaracharya, Christ, Mahammad, Kabir, Guru Nanak, and Dayananda Saraswati. Indeed, this is a new departure in Sanskrit literature and so the attempt of Pandit Kavyatirtha is commendable, no doubt. But we are afraid, he is not successful. The book is not free even from grammatical inaccuracies.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

### TELUGU.

We have received a copy for review of 'HEROES OF ANDHRADESA, PART I' by Mr. Somasekhara Sarma. The appearance of such a work satisfies a long felt want. This part contains the lives of some Andhra Emperors and a great Queen. The author has used all the informations available on his subjects. He commands a good style which would show greater strength and vigour on a more sparing use of ornamentation. The author, who is very promising, would we hope give in future some more works on Andhra History and Biography. Mr. Chilukuri Narayanarao, M. A., L. T., has written a very useful work on ANCIENT SEATS OF LEARNING, in Telugu. It is a scholarly production, full of interesting and useful matter which the author has gathered from various sources and he has treated it in a scientific manner. His appendices are really interesting. We hope it would be widely read through out the Andhra Desa.

particularly in these days when people are very busy about the reformation and organisation of education in the land.

[ Both the above works are published by Fateeya Sarasvata Nilayam, Rajahmundry. Price Re. 1 each. ]

X.

### KANARESE.

MAHATMA GANDHI YAVARA CHARITRE, PART I : By K. N. Karaguppi-Kar and G. B. Hukkeri. *Published by Karmaveera Press, Dharwar. Pp. 1-80. Price 12 as. (1921.)*

This book is intended to be a biography of Mahatma Gandhi. It is proposed to complete the life-history in three volumes. The first part under review deals only with the great man's activities in South Africa; nearly half the book is devoted to this topic. The other half gives a brief glimpse of parentage, childhood, boyhood, education and foreign travel. The arrangement of the book is quite good. The language is lucid and clear. There are hundreds of incidents in Mahatma's life from which we can conveniently take a lesson; we wish the authors would add a few more, as that would enhance the value of the work. Let us hope that the second edition would be made more attractive in every way.

KARNATAKA RASHATREEYA VIDYALAYADA VARSHIKA VARADI, DHARWAR. *Printed at the Karnataka Printing Works, Dharwar, and Published by S. S. Desai at the National School, Dharwar.*

This is a report on the working of the National School at Dharwar. The chief points to be noted are the working hours of the school and the insistence of the vocational education along with the literary training. The morning hours are devoted to literary subjects and the afternoons to vocational ones.

The climatic condition in India need a change in this direction in all schools national or otherwise. It is no matter what the season of the year is, the student can always read or be taught best in the mornings. The authorities have done well to adopt the more natural method. The vocational subjects are :—(1) Spinning and Weaving (2) Carpentry (3) Tailoring (4) Art Drawing (5) Medicine (6) Printing (7) Gardening (8) Singing (9) Commerce (10) Soap-making. It is proposed to add a few more to the list if circumstances permit. Time is the sure test of progress. Let us hope that a Presidency, which could bring into existence a Fergusson College, will be equally successful in making a national school of the right type a reality.

JAIMINI BHARATA KATHA SANGRAHA, PART I : By R. Rama Rao of the Mysore Archaeological Department. *Printed at the Guruvilasa Press, Bangalore. 1920. Price 8 as. Pp. 1-120.*

We are very much indebted to the author for publishing a prose version of one of the most famous works in Kannada Language. Till very recent times, say 1900 A. D., the work was being read very widely. It was not an uncommon scene to find in those days even the illiterate peasants listening with wrapped attention to a schoolboy reciting the verses from



this book. Thanks to the present day system of education, we have forgotten our own mother tongue. Jaimini, Bharata is a classic of our literature. It teaches the reader how devotion to the Almighty Sree Krishna will enable one to surmount all difficulties, what real heroism means and wherein consists true valour. It is a book full of good sayings and is best fitted for imparting religious and moral instruction not only to the young but also to others.

It was really a treat to go through the work. The language employed is most apt and deserves commendation. The size of the work permits its being used as a text-book for the Intermediate and B. A. Examinations. We wish the author every success in bringing out the further Parts.

DESABANDHU C. R. DAS. LIFE HISTORY: By Ganapatrao Rama Rao Masura. Printed at the Sree Rama Krishna Printing Works Ltd. Kumata. 1922. Pp. 1-94. Price 8 as.

The author deserves our thanks for the trouble he has taken in collecting the informations from different sources. He is at times carried away by vehemence. The matter is jumbled up. In some places the language employed looks pedantic. We hope the author will rectify these in his next editions. The book is quite valuable and interesting.

NARAKA-YATANA RAHASYA DARPANA:—By Krishnappa. Printed at the Kodandarama Press, Mysore. 1922. Price 8 as. Pp. i-iv, & 1-96.

We appreciate the author's keen desire to inculcate moral principles by pointing out what punishment one would have to meet for one's misdeeds. We are doubtful about the utility of the book so far as intellectual classes are concerned.

P. A. R.

## URDU.

SUBHE WATAN: By "Suddarshan". Pp. 192. Price Re. 1 (Paper) and Re. 1-8 (Cloth).

A collection of twelve stories, each of them being very entertaining and highly inspiring. A vein of patriotism runs throughout the book. A worthy task has been performed in a splendid way. The author has admirably succeeded in keeping the language pure even while depicting love scenes. The last story which is in the form of a drama and deals with the reformation of a public woman is not an exception to the rule. The book can safely be commended to our young boys and girls, and is likely to induce in some of them, at any rate, a keen sense of patriotism, of social service, of Hindu-Muslim unity, of national self-respect and of real sacrifice. The get-up is excellent.

HONORARY MAGISTRATE: By "Suddarshan". Pp. 46. Price As. 4.

A humorous, yet very true, pen-picture of the mentality of our fawning countrymen and of their relations with the official classes—from the District Magistrate down to his peon. The dramatic form of the story has lent additional life and vivacity.

TAHZIB KE TAZYANE: By "Suddarshan". Pp. 142. Price As. 12.

This 'Scourge of Civilisation' is a collection of eighteen stories by Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, translated from Bengalee into Urdu by 'Suddarshan' of Lahore. Bankim Babu's name is too wellknown to need an introduction. His aversion to the imposition of foreign culture on India was as deep and thorough as was his insight in human nature. His exposition of European diplomacy, Western morals and of English manners is very penetrating, and his witticism has made this work of criticism alluring to a degree. The translator has to a very large extent succeeded in maintaining the charm and exquisiteness of the original.

[All these three books are published by Ram Kufia Book Depot, Lahore.]

A. M.

## GUJARATI.

1. RASHTRA GITA: Collected By J. K. Vajnik and Published by the Rashtriya Sahitya Karyalaya, Ahmedabad. Printed at the Vasant Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Paper Cover. Pp. 260. Price Re. 0-10-0 (1922).

2. ATLUN TO JANJO (आटलु तो जाजो): By Narhari Dwarkadas Parekh. Published as above. Printed at the Jnan Mandir Press, Ahmedabad, Paper Cover. Pp. 99. Price Rs. 0-6-0 (1922).

These two books represent the activities of the National Literary Karyalaya at Ahmedabad, which has till now published about a dozen books. The collection of songs (1) has run into a second edition in a very short time, and the editor has availed himself of the opportunity to bring out a fresh edition by adding to the number of the songs. We have already noticed this first edition sometime back, and are glad to see that a second one has been called for in so short a time—a sure indication of its popularity. The title of his second book is very expressive. It means "This much at least you must know." It tells in a popular form, how we are situated at present, politically and economically. Its closing pages, describing the prosperity of the Indian weaver and artisan, a century ago, and the deliberate policy of the East India Company to kill the trade of India, should not be missed.

SUMAN GADYAVALI (सुमन गद्यावली): By Dikshit Kesarlal Nanalal, B. Sc., and Dikshit Hari Kant Nanalal, B. A., of Baroda. Printed at the Lakshmi Electric Printing Press, Baroda. Thin Paper Cover. Pp. 128. Price Rs. 0-12-0 (1922).

A series of short essays, trying to point out the way in which our society can be reformed all round. The book is the result of the joint labour of the two brothers, and is published in memory of their Sister Suman. As a first attempt they have turned out creditable work.

PARAKRAMI POWRAY YANE BHARAT NUN GOWRAY (पराक्रमी पौरव याने भारत नुन गौरव): By Professor J. C. Swami Narayan. Printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Thick Card-board Cover. Pp. 108. Price Re. 1-4-0 (1921).

This is a spirited play in three acts. It recalls the days of Alexander's expedition and the bold stand made against him by Porus. The author has worked



on a sure historical back-ground, and woven imaginary incidents round about it, all to the credit of Indian ladies. Women like Kalavati, Sarla, and Ilakumari, have from times immemorial typified the courage, chastity and patriotism of Indian womanhood, and the parts they play in their several characters are indeed admirable. The play is written with a view to remind us of our glorious past and it fulfils its purpose entirely. The preface is very well written and furnishes a key to the understanding of the several events narrated in the play. An otherwise good diction is however spoiled by the use of such unclassical phrases as "Punjab Mail" to represent speed, "upper garret lost" to represent foolishness or brainlessness and so on. These expressions jar on the ear.

NAVAGIT (नव गीत) : By Gokaldas D. Raichura. Printed at the Natvar Printing Press, Bombay, Thin Paper Cover, Pp. 35. Price Rs. 0-6-0 (1922).

Mr. Raichura is a constant contributor of his short poems to Gujarati monthlies and dailies. They are all connected with recent national movements, and this book contains thirty such (selected) poems. The author says that some of them have become very popular and that little children even sing them,

VIJAY DHWAJ (विजय ध्वज) : By Ratipatiram U. Pandya, B. A. Printed at the Suryaprakash Press, Ahmedabad and published by Jivanlal Amarshi Mehta, Ahmedabad. Cloth Cover. Pp. 96. Price Rs. 0-8-0 (1922).

This is not exactly a translation but a book written largely on the lines of James Allen's *Life Triumphant*. We wonder whether it would become popular with the masses, as both its style and subject seem to be over their heads.

HASYA KATHA MANJARI (हास्य कथा मञ्जरौ) :

Part I: Published by Jivanlal Amarshi Mehta, Ahmedabad. Printed at the Ambika Vijaya Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth Cover. Pp. 217. Price Rs. 2-0-0 (1922).

Gujarati Language does not boast of a large volume of humorous literature. Whatever little it possesses, is due in a large measure to Parsi writers, and even in that community, the number of such writers can be counted on one's fingers. Amongst Hindus, there is no towering personality excepting R. B. Ramanbhai, and in this collection therefore would be found humorous and witty pieces of various shades as his work is excluded. Whatever the quality, the publisher has certainly done well in collecting such scattered writings and bringing them out in book form, so that they might be found handy for those who feel inclined to extract delight even from an emaciated kind of humour.

HRISHIKESHA CHANDRA (हृषीकेश चन्द्र) : By Ramprasad Kashiprasad Desai. Published by Jivanlal Amarshi Mehta. Printed at the Union Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound. Pp. 334. Price Rs. 3-0-0 (1922).

This is the first part of a novel in which the author has tried to present the picture of a Gujarati Hindu's domestic, social and religious life as lived to-day. It is not a simple life, but full of several complex problems, and we like its language and the way in which he has described those problems and the many phases of our life, which is still greatly under the influence of western thoughts and ideas. It has got one or two bright chapters.

K. M. J.

## TAGORE'S MESSAGE TO THE WORLD

(As proclaimed in his latest book "Creative Unity.")

BY JAMES H. COUSINS.

IN his latest book, "Creative Unity" (Macmillan, New York), Dr. Rabindranath Tagore throws a bridge across the gulf that Western criticism has set between the function of thought and the function of expression, between philosophy and literature. He has given to the world a volume which, by virtue of its transcendent qualities of utterance, takes rank among the masterpieces of world-literature; a volume which, at the same time, sets the profoundest thought close to the world's vast problem of disease and agony to-day, and out of an unflinching but compassionate diagnosis, prescribes for temporal ills the heroic but only

availing remedies of the pharmacopia of eternal Truth. He has thus rendered a signal and far-reaching service to both literature and philosophy by giving his unique gifts of brilliance and astonishment of idea, of splendour and vividness, of figure and phraseology, to the expression of an urgent, moving and world-embracing purpose; and by releasing philosophy from the bare prison of textualism and scholastic history, and setting it to the testing of the activities of life with the warning, pleading, counselling trumpet of high literature at its lips. He has made it impossible for any who have ears to hear the resonant and shining message



of this book to acquiesce any longer in the indolent and uncritical acceptance of literature as the polite mental libertinism of humanity, and philosophy as its medicine and penance.

Before a book such as this, criticism of the negative order lays aside its microscope and scalpel—or expends itself in a feeble reference to the merely external fact that the essays included in "Creative Unity" were written under a variety of circumstances and without immediate organic relationship to a single central theme. What is vital to the world is not the question of the mechanism of these essays or their connection with former presentations of their substance in their author's books on Personality and Nationalism, but the fact that they present adequately and maturely their writer's plea for the establishment in human relationships of a unity which, by participating in the Divine function of Creation, attain's peace and joy; a 'creative unity' in contradistinction to the present world-wide religious, racial, and social disunity which, because it is essentially uncreative, and merely productive and destructive, is vowed to spiritual abasement, intellectual poverty, and physical misery.

Such is, in brief, the message of "Creative Unity" and of Tagore to the world. To realise its full significance, it is necessary to understand the implications which the author puts on the words 'creative' and 'unity' and on the words 'nationalism' and 'internationalism' which, to Tagore, stand for the organised expression in human society of the opposed forces of destruction and creation.

There is a rough, and ready idea in the popular mind of the West that 'creation' means the making of something out of nothing. The subtler mind of the East postulates a Creative Power, and a Substance which, in being capable of response to the Creative Power, has within itself the principle of creation. All activity of a creative kind is seen as the making (Sanskrit, *kri*, to make) of new combinations within limited are as of the (to us) unlimited sphere of possible variation in life, substance, and form. Creation, therefore, in this sense, is not simple reproduction or multiplicity, but the setting up of a process which draws around a special centre of energy certain related expressions in substance and quality, and by 'making' some new object of art, thrills the maker and the beholder with joy in the disclosure through the finite of the wonder and beauty of the Infinite. Artistic creation is possible only through acts of unification in materials and qualities; social creation (instead of the vast antagonistic proliferations of to-day) is possible only through acts of unification in the thoughts and feelings, the aims and movements of human beings. Says Rabindranath,

"We feel that this world is a creation" (in the sense that has just been set forth); "that in its centre there is a living idea which reveals itself in an eternal symphony

played on innumerable instruments all keeping perfect time. We know that this great world-verse, that runs from sky to sky, is not made for the mere enumeration of facts: it has its direct revelation in our delight. That delight gives us the key to the truth of existence: it is personality acting upon personalities through incessant manifestations."

When a great seer and sayer points his finger towards "the truth of existence," it behoves those who have set out with open eyes on the Great Exploration for that very Truth, to pay close heed to all that is involved in the crucial statement that "the truth of existence" is "personality acting on personalities..." This full-minded attention is all the more necessary here because it happens that, through the exigencies of a language in which the mental and material solidity of the Greek genius is predominant, the only word personality that Tagore could find for the full expression of that ultimate Being, or Life, or Consciousness, within which 'our little systems' and the incalculable universes revolve, is commonly regarded as meaning just the reverse. And this work-a-day reading of the term has come down through two thousand years of verbal custom from the days of the theatre of Greece and Rome, when (as in Japan today) the actor hid himself behind a *persona*, or mask, the thing through which he spoke (Latin *per* through, *sono* to speak). In the vocabulary of "Creative Unity" the derivation of 'personality' is taken further back, from the thing spoken through, to the living speaker; and this deepening of meaning refers not only to the personalities that are as cells in the body of the Great Personality, but also to the Great Personality itself. Within the totality of existence, and within its details, there is consciousness, feeling, activity. No one of these terms gives full expression to the Entity in whom these functions are co-ordinated and given unity of life. The word 'personality' is taken as coming (despite its limitations) nearest to adequacy of meaning.

In the exercise of consciousness, feeling and activity, there arises a sense of satisfaction beyond the immediate pleasure of thought, of sensation, or of movement. This deeper pleasure is the *ananda* (bliss) of Eastern thought that is the response between one person and another and between the nominally separated personalities and the Personality of the whole. "The Spirit himself beareth witness with one spirit," as the Christian scripture has it; "and that immediacy of intercommunication arises out of the simple inescapable fact that there is no getting beyond that totality; that there is nothing but that Being, that Life, that Divine Personality." This, according to Tagore, is 'the truth of existence.' It is also the justification of all those efforts to express in terms of race and place some apprehension of the Divine Personality which have been called anthropomorphism and idolatry.



It is obvious that a mind to which this 'truth of existence' (the Divine Personality acting on human personalities) is not merely a literary idea but the very breath of its nostrils, cannot but look with disapproval on any human activity whose tendency is towards exclusiveness or the building of barriers against the flow of the Universal Life. There is within each human being the impulse to creative unity. Says Rabindranath,

"It is the object of this Oneness within us, to realise its infinity by perfect union of love with others. All obstacles to this union create misery, giving rise to the baser passions that are expressions of finitude, and of that separateness which is negative and therefore *maya*."

Now the word 'love' used in the foregoing paragraph is not a mere evaporation from the surface of a fluid sentimentality. It is the poet's expression of the truth that in the Universal Life there is a principle of cohesion through which it maintains its identity and continues its activity. Separate any branch absolutely from the tree of life, and it will die—but the assumption of such separation is an impossibility; were it possible the universe would collapse. Take away the cohesive principle ('love') from the Universal Being, and it would disintegrate into nothingness—but the notion is absurd, for Life and Love are fundamental; you cannot get around them, or behind them, or through them, or beyond them. For which reason Rabindranath says,

"In love we find a joy which is ultimate because it is the ultimate truth."

Love, too, was the ultimate truth to the great seer-poet, Shelley. It was love that released the chained Prometheus, and with him set free the suppressed powers of nature and humanity. It is characteristic of the different approach of West and East to 'ultimate truth'; that to Shelley love was the key of liberation, while to Tagore it is the cord of binding. Yet both are, in the end, the same. The freedom that Shelley dreamed of was freedom for love to find its full expression and voluntarily to seek its affinities; the binding that Tagore affirms is the voluntary merging of the self of illuminated human beings with others in love. The one dreamed of love attainable; the other affirms love present and invincible if put into action. The Western poet, from the side of humanity capable of Divinity, says, 'We must be free in order to love'; the Eastern poet, from the side of the Divinity in humanity, says, 'We must love, in order to be free.' It is characteristic, also, of the contrasted but complementary points of view of West and East, that, while both poets regard human unity as the essential condition of true creation in the arts and sciences (Shelley in the great chant of the Earth at the end of 'Prometheus Unbound,' Tagore in 'Creative Unity') the Western poet sees the attainment of world-comradeship as an event

beyond the victory of the chained Titan over the tyrant Jove; and the Eastern poet affirms the essential unity of humanity as existence here and now, and its recognition as the measure and test of all movements that take to themselves the sacred name of Freedom.

We have said 'the measure and test'—not the denial. It is just here that the contact of the message of Rabindranath Tagore with the national movements of the present day has been subject to misinterpretation. Years ago, when the writer of this article was doing his share of work on the literary side of the national revival in Ireland, the word 'international' was as a red rag to a bull; it drew upon it a fierce opposition with lowered horns and dilated nostrils. There are those in India to-day, who, in their zeal for their country's welfare, set themselves against the world-wide appeal of Tagore. To his 'internationalism' they oppose their 'nationalism', and do not realise (as the writer failed to realise years ago) that they are setting the part against the whole; asserting the fallacy that the interests of a constellation are opposed to the interests of any of the stars which compose it; lifting a rebellious hand to do hurt to the body of which it is a member.

The real enemy of nationalism is itself, in its imposition of narrowness and exclusiveness on its own aims and methods; for these cut it off from the flux of the Divine Life, turn creative energy into destructive fever, and set up antagonisms which breed antagonisms. The enemy of Indian nationalism is not internationalism, but an alien nationalism. The 'plantations' of English settlers in Ireland and the coming of the "John Company" to India were not international movements but predatory excursions from the lair of nationalism with intent to bring back to the lair as much and as good prey as might be snared or pounced upon.

Against the whole spirit and operation of burglarious nationalism Rabindranath sets his condemnation and prophecy in speech that is kindred to the lightning which (as Paul Richard puts it in *The Scourge of Christ*), if it does not illuminate, slays. "The wriggling tentacles of a cold-blooded utilitarianism," says Rabindranath, "with which the West has grasped all the easily yielding and succulent portions of the East, are causing pain and indignation throughout the Eastern countries"—and causing it nowhere more strongly than in the heart of the great patriot who flung away title in rebuke of sin against the spirit of internationalism in the barbarities inflicted by the agents of one nation on another. One feels the flame of noble scorn in his condemnation of foreign rule that holds itself aloof from the people it rules. He says,

"You must know that red tape can never be a common human bond; that official sealing-wax can never provide means of human attachment; that it is a painful ordeal for human beings to have to receive favours



from animated pigeon-holes, and condescensions from printed circulars that give notice, but never speak."

But this condemnation strikes no more strongly at a foreign bureaucracy than at an Indian bureaucracy if it assumes the method of the machine. Organisation, Tagore admits, is necessary. It is when the spirit of the machine assumes ascendancy that it becomes not only obnoxious to the elastic and expansive spirit of humanity, but dangerous to the machine itself; for "the repressed personality of man generates an inflammable moral gas deadly in its explosive force."

Here we are at the central point of Tagore's message to the world in its application to the world-struggle now going on: the point which, if deeply pondered, would banish from criticism of his utterances the false antithesis of nationalism and internationalism. The real struggle at every stage of human history, whether between or within nations, has been, he tells us, "between the living spirit of the people and the methods of nation-organising"; between the expanding soul of humanity (Indian or English) and mechanical limitations that refuse to adapt themselves to that expansion. We must take care, however, not to look upon the protagonists of this struggle as external enemies, one of whom must achieve victory by the annihilation of the other. The spirit of expansion and the spirit of organisation are not foes, but partners in one operation, and each achieves victory by making just sufficient concession to the other to permit the expression of the Divine Personality. There must be growth, says Rabindranath, but "growth is not that enlargement which is merely adding to the dimensions of incompleteness," it is "the movement of a whole to a yet fuller wholeness," which implies flexible organisation at every stage of the process; and there must be the shaping service of a limitation that is yet free from rigidity, "some spiritual design of life" which curbs the activities of the peoples of the earth, and transforms the peoples into an 'organic whole.' The symbol for 'nation-organising' should not be red-tape, which must be cut or loosed, but an elastic band capable of infinite expansion.

In this co-operative struggle the human spirit has the force of evolution with it, driving it forward by necessity, calling it onward by idealism, towards the freedom of voluntary association. When its demands and methods are in line with the spirit of harmony, it succeeds but if its demands and methods are set towards power, it suffers frustration until it learns the better way. Harmony is the condition in which man's true nature, which is spiritual, finds adequate and appropriate expression, for harmony is the medium whereby personality communicates fully and joyfully with personality and finds the high way and communication with the Divine Personality—which is "the truth of existence." But power, personification of

can only be generated through restriction and suppression which, carried beyond a certain point, brings about its own destruction. The living air is universal, harmonious, beneficent; but capture a portion of it in a receptacle and subject it to pressure, and you produce an elastic, expulsive force which will submit to the pressure just to a point of balance between its own resistance and the resisting power of the agent of pressure. If and when explosion comes, it is not the air that is shattered, but the things that compress it. The yielding air, that the bird of gentle wing hardly ruffles in its passage through it, becomes the ruin of that which presses it beyond endurance.

There is safety only in harmony. The political leaders of the great nations see this truth, but only give it half allegiance. Today they are seeking safety in a *harmony* artificially produced by a balance of *power*. They might as well try to simulate the harmony of the world-encircling ocean by making an alliance of icebergs. They will only sink with their own weight, collide with their own mass-attraction. If they want real harmony they must melt—melt out of "the exclusive advantages which they have unjustly acquired" through the exercise of frigid power. Instead of this, "they are concentrating their forces for mutual security;" and in this concentration Tagore sees trouble, for the strong think only of the strong, and ignore the weak, wherein, he says, lies the peril of their losing the harmony at which they aim, and collapsing in a welter of still greater destruction than that from which they are blindly trying to extricate themselves. Tagore throws his conviction on this matter into a figure of speech which is supremely Indian, intensely vivid, and conclusive.

"The weak are as great a danger for the strong as quicksands for an elephant. They do not assist progress because they do not resist; they only drag down."

The League of European Elephants is on the edge of the Asian Quicksand—"Yet in the psychology of the strong" no account is taken of "the terribleness of the weak." The 'powers' on both sides of the Pacific have made a pact safeguarding them from one another; but Japan has under her feet the dangerous weakness of Korea.

This is the perilous position in which humanity stands to-day. It is summed up in a passage in "Creative Unity" which is not only literature at its highest, (feeling and thinking with intensity), but is an admonition carried to the height of prophecy that cries on behalf of the repressed of all lands and ages, the doom, sooner or later, of the one enemy of the human spirit, the spirit of greed which incarnates in the rapacious nations:

"Politicians calculate upon the number of mailed hands that are kept on the sword-hilts: they do not see the great invisible hand



that clasps in silence the hand of the helpless and waits its time. The strong form their league by a combination of powers, driving the weak to form their own league alone with their God. I know I am crying in the wilderness when I raise the voice of warning; and while the West is busy with its organisation of a machine-made peace, it will continue to nourish by its iniquities the underground forces of earthquake in the Eastern continent. The West seems unconscious that Science, by providing it with more and more power, is tempting it to suicide and encouraging it to accept the challenge of the disarmed; it does not know that the challenge comes from a higher source."

What is the way of escape from the universal catastrophe that is inherent in these circumstances? It has moved by implication parallel with the foregoing considerations. The solid clear-edged path of constructive idealism is under every step of the poet's criticism—though with the sensitiveness of the artist, he refrains from didactic summarisation of the obvious. He says,

"I have often been blamed for merely giving warning, and offering no alternative. When we suffer as a result of a particular system, we believe that some other system would bring us better luck. We are apt to forget that all systems produce evil sooner or later, when the psychology which is at the root of them is wrong...And because we are trained to confound efficient system with moral goodness itself, every ruined system makes us more and more distrustful of moral law. Therefore I do not put my faith in any new institution, but in the individuals all over the world who think clearly, feel nobly and act rightly, thus becoming the channels of moral truth."

Tagore's message, therefore, as summed up in this book, is addressed neither to thought which stultifies itself in systems nor to feeling which circumscribes and artificially intensifies itself in exclusive movements, but to that share of the Divine Being which every man and woman possesses in his and her personality. But the ends of personality are not fulfilled in appropriation and accumulation: these frustrate the purpose of life, the interplay of Personality on personalities.

"For us the highest purpose of this world is not merely living in it, knowing it and making use of it, but realising our own selves in it through expansion of sympathy; not alienating ourselves from it and dominating it but comprehending and uniting it with ourselves in perfect union."

Two means at hand to this end are education and art; in the first but in a different form and spirit from that obtainable in India today can be found a meeting ground between persons and groups of persons "where there can be no question of conflicting interests," but only a common pursuit of truth and a common sharing of the world's heritage of culture; in the second is the means of attainment of expression, which is fulfilment.

"In everyday life our personality moves in a narrow circle of immediate self-interest, and therefore our feelings and events, within that short range, become prominent subjects for ourselves. In their vehement self-assertion they ignore their unity with the All. But art gives our personality the disinterested freedom of the eternal, there to find it in its true perspective."

## AN EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMME FOR BENGAL

### I

**D**URING the last eight years, education in England has gone through, what may be called without exaggeration, a new birth. The revolution in English social life caused by the war and those still mightier disturbing factors, the economic collapse and financial cataclysm of after-war Europe, have not been able to shake the broad foundations of the new educational system of England, because it has been organised on an enduring basis, according to a carefully thought out, consistent and methodically pursued plan, which can defy the changes of time and personality. England owes

this marvellous achievement to the genius of her Minister of Education, the Right Hon'ble Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, supported by the unselfish and energetic educated public opinion of the country.

In India, the value and permanence of our advance in all departments of life, —political, economic, social and military, —depend entirely on the reorganisation of our children's education on a modern and progressive basis, casting off the cherished shams and shibboleths of old, the dead weight of convention and custom, which have ruled us so long. Our new educational system must 'come to grips' with the facts of life; it cannot any



longer afford to doze philosophically in the dreamland of Laputa. Its strength, nay, its very life, will depend on its whole-hearted recognition of reality and merciless rejection of all sham and show, 'window dressing' and newspaper advertisement. In proportion as it is real and sound, it will stimulate the nation's energies and succeed in adapting itself to changes in circumstance; it will easily find the means of its support in the national resources (in men and money) improved by it; it will, by its normal daily operation, work off the inertia of time and the invisible deadening effect of custom. The test of our educational system will be the character of our educated countrymen and the altered life and resources of our country, —not the tons of printed parchments distributed to droves of youngmen fantastically dressed in mediaeval monkish costume.

## II

For achieving this result, two things are necessary: (a) We should adopt a *clearly thought out plan* of educational reform and reorganisation, *considered as a whole*, with correlated parts which change and advance in constant reference to one another. (b) A wise and public spirited Minister of Education to carry the plan through the Legislature and give effect to it through the academic Executive. Remember that the other provinces of India are not standing still in this matter. Wake up, Bengal! You require a Fisher; but unless your public opinion is trained and organised to support him, even a Fisher will be powerless; he will be a voice crying in the wilderness, a prophet breaking his head against a stone wall.

The recent educational advance in England has set to itself the following aims:—

(i) Strengthening the foundation by making *primary* education really efficient. The means adopted are improvement of the quality of the teachers by increasing their *pay* and making it regular (on a graded scale) and free from uncertainty.\*

\* The teachers' contributory pension (improvement) scheme is now before Parliament.

(ii) Extending the range of national education by making *secondary* education almost universal. To this end, the age of compulsory attendance at schools has been raised so as to include "young persons" between 12 and 16; and the number of secondary schools and secondary school-teachers will be steadily increased in order to supply the need created by this policy of expansion. Only a greatly enlarged grant from the State and local bodies can make this expansion possible. The economic distress of the country after the war is retarding the full enforcement of this scheme.

(iii) Securing greater *efficiency in teaching* by means of conferences, commissions and reports on the best methods of teaching specific branches like English, modern languages, the classics, Science, etc. 'The Parrot's Training' is at a discount *there*.

(iv) Greater co-operation and *division of labour among the Universities*, so as to economise expenditure and prevent the over-lapping of effort.

(v) Where practicable, the *reform of University constitutions*, so as to give the public an effective interest in the University and a voice in shaping its policy and aims and choosing its executive,—by means of a Court elected on a wide popular and diversified basis, while leaving purely academic questions to be dealt with by a body of academic experts. No University can now afford to remain a narrow oligarchy,—still less an autocracy.

## III

The most crying need of Bengal today is the improvement of Secondary education. It is the key-stone of our educational arch, and the entire system, Primary and University, depends upon it. If our secondary schools are made really efficient, they will, on the one hand, send forth capable teachers to our primary schools and reliable workmen into various walks of life (with the exception of the few learned professions), and, on the other hand, they will turn out (a select body of) students really able to profit by University teaching and prevent the present *economic waste of our Colleges* doing



what is really school work during the first two years of their course.

Our growing educational expenditure will be justified only if our sons become better fitted for the struggle of life, in consequence of it, and not if they repeat the parrot's training imbibed from the black-board of a silent lecturer or the type-written "lecture-notes" of a teacher who did *not* teach that branch. Merely stamping them with two letters of the alphabet by some rapidly-operating multiple-action machine, cannot increase their survival value in the modern world, however much the machine-owner may blow his own trumpet.

It is admitted on all hands that our high schools at present turn out students whose education is too literary and too narrow to enable them to join any business, technical or professional school without further *preliminary* teaching,—which evil the school-leaving test is elsewhere designed to counteract; at the same time even this "literary" education is not sufficiently sound and high to enable them to pursue immediately the literary education imparted by the Colleges. Business employers, technical teachers and College lecturers alike have been complaining of the unsatisfactory quality and daily *decreasing* (average) intellectual equipment of our Matriculates. Therefore the Matriculation teaching and examination should be taken out of the hands of the University and placed under the control and guidance of a Secondary Board composed mainly of business men, actual teachers and the educated public (representing society and the guardians), with the necessary leaven of higher educational experts.

#### IV

They should first improve the pay and qualifications of the H. E. School teachers and the equipment of the schools;—not buildings at present; do not lock up too much money in brick and mortar. Then the *standard* of the Matriculation can be easily, almost automatically, raised to what it was till about 25 years ago, (remedying, however, the narrowness of

range and inelasticity which marked it in those early times). The deplorable lowering of the standard in order to bring more students to the higher University examinations which in recent years, has made the Calcutta Matriculation the laughing stock of the rest of India and fill the adjoining Universities of Dacca and Patna with bewilderment and Bengal teachers and employers with despair, should be firmly checked. When a really sound and fairly high *general* education is at last secured by the reformed Matriculation, it will be the gateway to professional and technical institutions, to many of the services and to business employment. Our young men, thus educated, will be able to earn their bread after only two years of special training and derive the fullest benefit from such training. To take one example only; the low quality and poor success of Bengali short-hand reporters (with a few honourable exceptions) is rightly ascribed by their examiners and employers to the very defective general education and extremely poor knowledge of English with which they now leave our High Schools. A few enterprising spirits among them, no doubt, teach themselves privately while at work, and thus improve their chances in life, in spite of our schools. Madras reporters, on the other hand, are man for man better hands by reason of their superior general knowledge and keenness at work. Here, as in all other departments, success in the modern world depends on efficiency and real ability and not on University degrees, grace marks and "moderated" results. It is the interest of every employer, every guardian and even every student, in Bengal that the final examination of our school course should be taken out of the hands of a cumbrous overgrown inefficient machine chained to Calcutta, whose main occupation and chief interest lie in something else, (*viz.*, "higher" studies), to whom the Matriculation is only a money-bringing instrument, and which has succeeded in causing the collapse of our entire educational system by rendering the Calcutta Matriculation of recent years



• Our secondary schools and school-masters having been improved, the Secondary Board will then apply itself to making the School Final examination a test of sound general knowledge, a working mastery of English, and character. This examination should not be, like the present Matriculation, a predominantly literary test, with a curriculum formidable on paper (which renders cram inevitable), while the actual examination is a farce. A real working knowledge of modern English prose—and not philology nor rhetoric nor the acrobatics of grammarians, which disfigure Matriculation papers,—should be the first thing aimed at. This can be easily secured if the other subjects are taught through the vernacular, with the gain of discounting unintelligent memory work and finding a place for science and “modern knowledge”. School teachers and the general public co-operating on this Board will keep the course and standard constantly in touch with modern requirements and save them from becoming a dead routine.

# V

When this first requisite of reform from the bottom upwards has been secured, the next step in advance will be taken by following the recommendations of the Haldane Commission and raising certain select well-equipped schools to a standard two years' higher than that of the present Matriculation class, without however calling them Intermediate colleges and thereby bringing on them the indescribable confusion (already experienced at Patna) of control by two diverse authorities (the University and the Board) with their two diverse ideals and standards. These will be perfected schools, doing (with greater efficiency and less noise, show and cost) the work of our Intermediate college classes. No difficulty will be found by their passed students in joining medical, engineering or commercial colleges. Their literary qualification will be no less, and their mental breadth and alertness, habits and physical training distinctly better than those of the present I.A's and I.Sc's.

This improvement will remove one of the saddest sights of Bengal,—young men in thousands going up blindly, mechanically, from school to college, receiving the same ‘general’ (or literary) education till at the end of their college career they run against a blind wall and find that they have learnt to be nothing except school-masters, and clerks,—and not even ‘trained’ school-masters and ‘stenographer’ clerks, who are more highly paid than the general run of these two classes. The deplorable spectacle of passed Matrics in their thousands fighting for admission to our overcrowded colleges (giving the same ‘general’ education as the schools) and of inefficient ill-equipped colleges springing up (or older colleges opening branches of a similarly poor quality) to catch these young men, will, it is hoped, be a thing of the past.

Our colleges will benefit in two ways from the proposed reform: (a) All and sundry will not enter the colleges after the Matric, but only those who have the means and capacity to pursue a University course; hence there will be no inefficients to retard the progress of the whole class and drag down the level of examinations. (b) The colleges will get students who can really follow the lectures of the professors in the class and can supplement these lectures by guided private study in the library,—the two things essential in a true college student. The under-graduate course can then be reduced to three years (from the four of the present arrangement), leaving to those who elect it, two years more for postgraduate work. With keener and better educated freshmen to start with, our colleges will be able to discard their present lower two years of school work, keep a smaller but more highly qualified staff, and (with smaller numbers to handle) put their resources to the best use by following a scheme of co-operation, each college specialising in a particular subject or group of allied subjects, instead of diffusing its energies over all of them as now. There is no reason why the five large private colleges in Calcutta should be as like each other as eggs, or why there



should be two colleges doing exactly the same kind of work so close together as, say, Krishnagar and Berhampur.

VI

The basis of our educational system having been thus made sound and suited to modern requirements, and a wide door opened from the reformed schools to the professions (except the very learned), the next step will be the reform of the constitution of our University. The evil of the present regime is felt throughout the country and public opinion has been clearly pronounced against its continuance. All that is now required is to frame a definite scheme of reconstruction adapted to our needs and the altered conditions, political and economic, of the after-war world. It will be the business of the Legislature to prepare such a scheme and of the true leaders of the nation to push it through. I can here suggest only a few lines of advance:—

The electorate for the Court (old 'Senate') should be as wide as the graduate community, so that it may truly reflect national feeling and ensure national control over the policy and activity of the University and the selection of its executive Council (old 'Syndicate'). It should be guarded against the risk of falling into the degraded and demoralising state of a narrow oligarchy, dividing the "spoil" among its members or clientele or registering the edicts of one man. Public opinion should be made to prevail in its deliberations.

As a means to this end the franchise of the Court should be thrown open to all graduates on a nominal registration fee of one Rupee (and not the present income-tax of Rs. 10) a year, with special electorates for college teachers, graduate school teachers, certain learned bodies and commercial interests. A minimum number of Mohammedan members should, at the present stage of our political growth, be secured by law, and whenever this number is not reached through the general constituencies, the special Muslim electorate would come into operation to fill up the deficiency.

Certain precautions should be provided for specifically in the Act. Incidents of recent years which have been the talk of society in Bengal and even in other provinces, show that it is not safe to leave purity of administration to chance. Without going into the details of this unsavoury subject, a matter of public notoriety already, we may demand—

(a) Secrecy of voting in the elections to Court, Council and Boards,—no person interested personally or through any relative being given access to the voting papers. Certain rules for preventing bribery and influence at elections already adopted by the Madras and Dacca Universities.

(b) The reign of law, as opposed to personal consideration, in the distribution of academic titles, rewards and honours. One rule for all men and for all years, operating of itself and not requiring to be set going by an individual petition.

(c) Anonymity of the candidates for examinations, and a wide selection of external examiners to prevent any "domestic arrangement".

(d) The laying down of clear general principles binding the examiners as opposed to the "simple ignoring" of a paper by the unreasoning show of hands, 14 against 2. Wherever you may draw the boundary line between a First class and a Second, or a Pass and a "Fail", you are sure to have some candidate immediately below the line. The law should take away from the examiners the temptation—and take away the examiners from the pressure—to boost up that somebody on the ground that he is just short by 4 or 5 per cent, either without re-examining his papers or examining them with a biased mind and on a lower standard than in the case of the other candidates. If you boost up, have an open general rule for all years and all such cases.

(e) Publicity of transactions and the recording of reasons for every breach of law or morality, instead of the bare final result (often in cryptic language). Keep the original mark-sheets.

(f) Clear division of responsibility.



The University in its operation should be an organism, each limb having life, and action of its own, and not a mechanism, moved by the power transmitted from one central dynamo and dead when that centre stops working.

## VII

Reform will be hopeless unless the University chief of the future and his responsible associates have a true orientation of aims, unless they look forward to the future of the country and not to the immediate present, unless they lay to heart the old old theological maxim, "Cupidity is the root of all evils," and fight against tempting schemes for bringing grist to the University mill and securing press applause by means of 'petty shifts and temporary expedients.'

Such a reform, if it can be safeguarded against perversion to personal (or family) ends, oligarchical "law"-lessness and "special cases" will result in introducing a new element of purity, efficiency and genuine light into our national life in its highest aspects. It will teach our teachers to be worthy of their task of national uplift and guidance of national thought, instead of raking in the muck for a few additional examinations and extra pay for the supposed teaching of additional subjects. It will enable our sons to stand in the open competition of the world. The reign of impersonal law and the clear division of responsibility in the conduct of University business will assure its future students that they will reap rewards in strict proportion to their honest labour, without owing anything to chance or favouritism, without losing anything through the intervention of the private coach or the near relative. Career (in the University) will be open to talent without requiring the arts of the courtier and the literary puff. The same rule will apply to all. All disheartening distinctions will be things of the past. Nobody will care to ask whose son is he? or who is

the author of this (unexamined) competitive thesis?

Students will flock to University lectures in the full assurance that they can have there what cannot be had elsewhere, —not "type-written copies of (undelivered) lecture-notes supplied out of the fee-fund," not the rapid improvisations of any tired *Alipur mokhtar*\* or *Sealdah sokhtar* labelled as "higher study" lectures, nor the abstracts of text-books and plots of modern novels written on the black-board by a "lecturer" who is physically incapable of 'lecturing',—but the life's work of a staff devoted to their respective sciences, who had garnered knowledge single-mindedly, tirelessly in the past and are still garnering it,—who scorn riches gained by the arts of the courtier or the hack,—a staff smaller certainly than now, but less bizarre and more efficient, more averse to defend themselves by claiming analogy with Oscar Wilde, more keenly bent on developing *character* in their pupils by their own example and precept, and more constant to the University because assured of security of tenure, open treatment and honourable conditions of work. The University chief, by wise economic reform, will prove that there is no real cause for despairing of the adequacy of the University's existing resources to all its legitimate reasonable ends, and that the present policy of alternately whining in the streets and snarling at the custodian of the public purse is as unnecessary as the starving of its paid servants and the demand of "patriotic (money) sacrifices" from them. He will not delight in the title of *Nabob-maker* because he will know that the Nabobs of the post-graduate department will end by making him 'The Emperor of the Saharas.'

JADUNATH SARKAR.

\* In India certain members of the indigenous *avocassaire* class are permitted to act as solicitors, when they are called (*am*) *mokhtars*.



## SPONTANEOUSNESS

*(A study of the art of Sunayani Devi.)*

THE plant does not know when it blooms. Nor do birds sing deliberately. They are active with their whole and inmost being and need no reflective intellect. Sunayani Devi paints her pictures in the same way. She was never taught how to draw, and so her untouched spontaneousness directly blooms in colours and sings in lines.

Her pictures have no design, for they have grown. Unbroken and unswerving is the flow of lines, for no hesitation deflects them from the course they take as they well forth out of her very nature; they surge in grave tranquillity and clasp groups and figures; they are forceful and languid, self-asserting and full of surrender; their curvature is the same which the passing breeze gives to the heavy ears of corn; all the warmth and light which surrounds ripe fields shines forth from these lines.

Vigorous fatigue, the relaxation of a fully grown, fully ripened life, clings—dark red, dark green—round girlish faces. Their sarees are not made of cloth, but of some tender mood,—so expressive are they: They protect their wearers with a wide and generous flow. They are no longer garments, but cradles which rock with motherly solicitude the pensive, mysterious being of young girls who have learnt the secret before it is told. Therefore their eyes do not look about; they know where they are; they are messengers from the world within, the world veiled by the sweep of red and green sarees. It is through these eyes, long and steady, yet alert like wagtails, that their thoughts and feelings are sent out and enliven the picture.

In this way the paintings gain a two-fold rhythm: that calm and sonorous swing which pervades them as the wind



THE VILLAGE MAID.  
By Sreemati Sunayani Devi.

pervades the fields, that grave flow which organises the picture and gives it stability: and the other movement which counteracts it,—alert, sharp and light it flashes through the eyes and hurries over the broad masses of colour, itself colourless, thin, nothing but pure movement. That is how eyes and mouths and hands become one expressive gesture, which flits across the composed flow of the composition, quick like the flight of birds.

Thus the fleeting expression of the moment and the everlasting state of soul are visualised in a poise of perfect equilibrium. This simultaneous manifestation of life's duality, whose melody is at the same time fugitive and eternal, is





BAU FOR THE WANDERING MINSTREL.

By Sreemati Sunayani Devi.

the vital essence of Sunayani Devi's art. It is a direct growth out of the Indian Spirit, which takes up without effort the unbroken tradition of Ajanta. That Moghul painting attempted to make Indian art smaller (in size, vigour and experience) is forgiven and forgotten. Unconscious, yet sure, the pure Indian curve unfolds its calm and elegiac melody.

Probably no man of the present age could create so spontaneously and yet with roots fastened so deep in a tradition of about 2000 years. It needs all the instinct of a woman, the sensitiveness of her hand, her innate sense of security that the chain of life, of which she feels herself to be a link, is never broken. Do we not see in Indian *alpana*-drawings how the edgeless, flowing movement of round lines,—the life movement of the art of

India,—is reborn again and again in its unknown simple village girls of our own day?

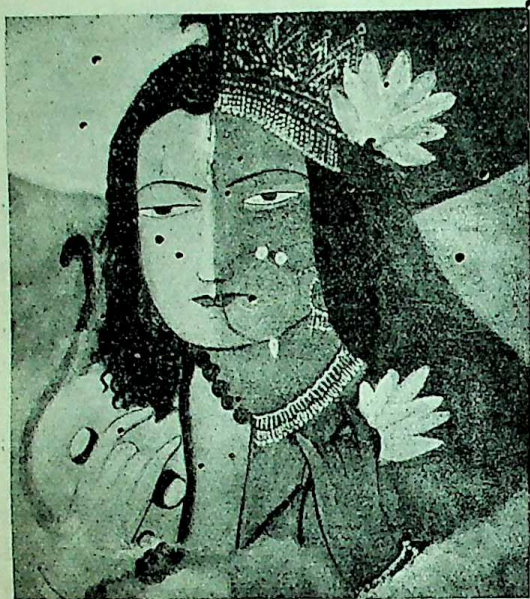
Sunayani Devi belongs to a family of artists. Some of her brothers painted long ago the caves of Ajanta, and others worked later on in Italy, as for instance, Margaritone d' Arezzo and Guido da Siena, by whom the spirit of St. Francis found visualisation. None of this fraternity, however, imitated any of the others, nor could they have been mutually influenced in any other way, for none of them even knew of the others' existence. But such is the law of creation that all human inner experience, which is moving in its own particular direction, cannot but find expression, whatever be the time or place, in similar forms (cf., the almost verbal identity of the recorded experiences of mystics of all ages and countries). The same unhesitating sureness, which guides the sweep of her brush, makes Sunayani Devi select the colours



THE VOTARESS.

By Sreemati Sunayani Devi.





ARDHA-NARISWARA.

By Sreemati Sunayani Devi.

red and green. Solemn in its monotony is her unvaried colour-scheme. Gold and black, economically distributed, give relief and depth, while the red and green

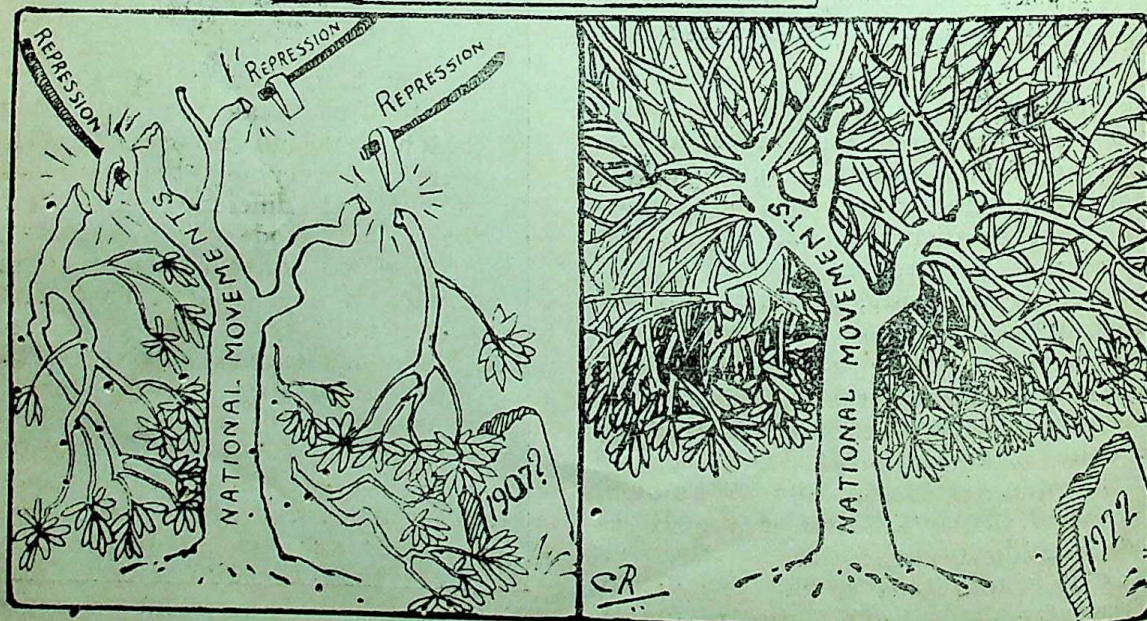
are displayed on one level with soft greys and browns of complexion, walls and curtains.

The intensity of such an art, purely instinctive because it follows an inborn tradition, necessarily is confined to itself. No learning, no outside influences whatsoever, can develop it. These, on the contrary, are bound to distract it from its root, to dissolve and to destroy it. There is another danger, which sometimes menaces Sunayani Devi and that is the interest she takes in life and in stories. The creative source may get choked up with things seen and imagined if descriptive illustration claims the tools by which creation used to manifest itself. The alertness of eyes and movements then becomes predominant, and from the busy play of feeling and action the calmness of her inspiration has to withdraw.

Sunayani Devi has all the wealth of the artist within her own self. She need do nothing else but listen to the secret song of the guardian of her treasure, in order to create master-works.

STELLA KRAMRISCH.

## A SIMPLE FACT OF NATURE





## HARRY THUKU AND THE 'NATIVE RISING' IN EAST AFRICA

### I

IN a recent number of the *Modern Review* I gave my own impression of Harry Thuku, whose sudden deportation, without any trial or warning, excited the Africans in Kenya to such an extent, that they marched forward in large numbers into Nairobi with a threatening attitude, and after refusing to disperse were shot at by the police and military with many casualties. There has come to me by the *African Mail* to-day (June 21st) a full account of what occurred from those whose word may be trusted, together with very important evidence about Harry Thuku. To recall what I had previously recorded,—Harry Thuku was a young African Christian, who had taken up the cause of his fellow countrymen. The things that he had specially brought forward, in a perfectly constitutional manner, by means of petitions and resolutions passed at public meetings, were as follows:—

(1) The terrible abuse of flogging practised by settlers. The weapon used was the *kiboko*, or rhinoceros-hide lash. The use of this, to an almost unlimited extent, had again and again, I was told, nearly brought about a native rising on a small scale. The best settlers were altogether against it, but they could not restrain the worst.

(2) The continual attempt, countenanced by the European Convention of Associations, to force a pliant government to encroach still further in the 'reserves' which are the only soil left to the original inhabitants of the country; for the Africans are not allowed to own, or buy, agricultural land in the Highlands, outside these 'reserves'.

(3) To claim that a fair proportion of the revenue collected, by means of the hut tax, from the Africans should be returned to them in grants for the

education of their children. I cannot remember the exact figure spent on education out of the seven to eight hundred thousand pounds, annually collected in taxes from the natives, but it was disgracefully low. There has been a very slight improvement lately.

(4) To prevent young girls and young women being enticed or forced out of the reserves for labour purposes. The immorality, which regularly followed such female labour recruitment, has been explained by Dr. Norman Leys, who was a medical officer in the British East Africa Protectorate in the days before it was made Kenya Colony. One of his sentences I remember, in which he speaks of the practices of the recruited men.—

"They are paid their wages by the month, and they marry by the month. The system fits the life."

### II

It must be remembered that these African natives are absolutely at the mercy of the ruling race. They have no representative of their own on the Council; no education to speak of; only about one in ten thousand can speak English; and there are very few English indeed who can speak the different native languages. The usual mode of intercourse is a smattering of Sorahili,—the coast language with Arabic roots. They have had all their lands taken away from them in the Highlands except certain reserved areas; and everything has been done to get them out of the reserves for cheap labour purposes. It is quite easy for settlers to combine and keep the prices of labour down, and therefore their wages on the farms are always disgracefully low. More than 600,000 of them were 'recruited,' I was told, in labour corps, during the war. We, in India, know what that word 'recruiting' meant, from our



experiences in the Punjab. The *Fellahin* of Egypt also could tell a story about it!

In South Africa, I had many long talks with a British Officer, who was pay-master of certain native labour corps, employed in German East Africa. He was a university man,—I think from Oxford,—a gentleman in every sense of the word. He told me that he was haunted day and night since the war by the sights he had seen,—the way the natives were treated, on the forced marches, in pursuit of the enemy. One figure in rupees sticks in my memory to this day. He said that, in the final settling up of accounts, *Six million rupees was never claimed at all*, and no one could tell anything about the men, who had earned it, or their dependents. It simply went back into the Treasury 'unclaimed'.

Those who read what I am now writing have to get the background of it all before they can understand Harry Thuku and his fate. He was one of the infinitesimally small number of East Africans who could speak English fluently and think in modern ways. He, and a very tiny group of like-minded persons, had formed an East African Association through which they hoped, with a pathetic faith and confidence (which we in India know so well), to get their people's grievances righted by petitions and to receive justice from the King. Their whole work, as I saw it being carried on in my own presence, was done by holding meetings and passing resolutions and sending in petitions. But this, from the first, appeared highly dangerous and offensive to the European settlers.

### III

Then followed attempt after attempt to get Harry Thuku punished, or checked or reprimanded, by the ruling chiefs belonging to his tribe. Here again the similarity to Indian conditions shows itself. For the tribal chiefs have been pampered and bribed and flattered by the ruling white race; they have become so utterly dependent on this ruling race for their position and credit, that a hint from the

rulers is enough for them to act upon at once. They dare not refuse.

But Harry Thuku appears to have been able to escape from the terrors of tribal discipline. He remained in Nairobi. There his intimate friends were members of the Indian Community, who sympathised with him in his efforts to win freedom for his people. He was allowed to keep his office close to the office of the Indian Association; and in every petition he wrote or resolution which he framed, he used to receive their help. I used to meet him there every day on my way to the office of the Indian Association.

It is an exceedingly common charge brought against the Indian community, that Indians have done nothing to help the African natives. In this instance of Harry Thuku we find real kindness shown by the Indian community to the one or two educated African natives, who could best of all help their own countrymen to resist oppression by constitutional means and stand up for their rights. There, when *this* kind of help is given, at once the cry is raised, that the Indians are teaching the natives to be seditious! As a matter of fact, the one thing that the average European is constantly afraid of, as he looks to the future, is lest the Indians should become too 'friendly' with the natives, and should take up the position of 'agitators' for the rights of the natives.

### IV

I now come to the evidence, which lies before me, in Harry Thuku's own case. The first point to notice is, that although the judge, in any event, would have been a European, who might be expected to deal severely with an actual case of sedition, if the evidence for such existed, *no evidence whatever was brought before any court*. Harry Thuku himself states that, after his deportation, he was told by the Senior Commissioner of Kismayu (the place to which he was deported) that there was no particular information available affecting himself, but if any was afterwards available he would be told. That was all that was said officially.



We have further the direct evidence of Mr. F. Dracott, Bar-at-law, whose own clerk, George Mugekenji, appears to have been arrested at the same time as Harry Thuku. Mr. Dracott is evidently somewhat nervous at taking up this case at all. He states at the beginning of his application to the Governor,—“At the outset, I would beg to state, that I have undertaken this work on the very definite understanding, that all I would do for my clients must be on absolutely constitutional grounds and with a view, if possible, to get the Government of Your Excellency to show some clemency to my clients.”

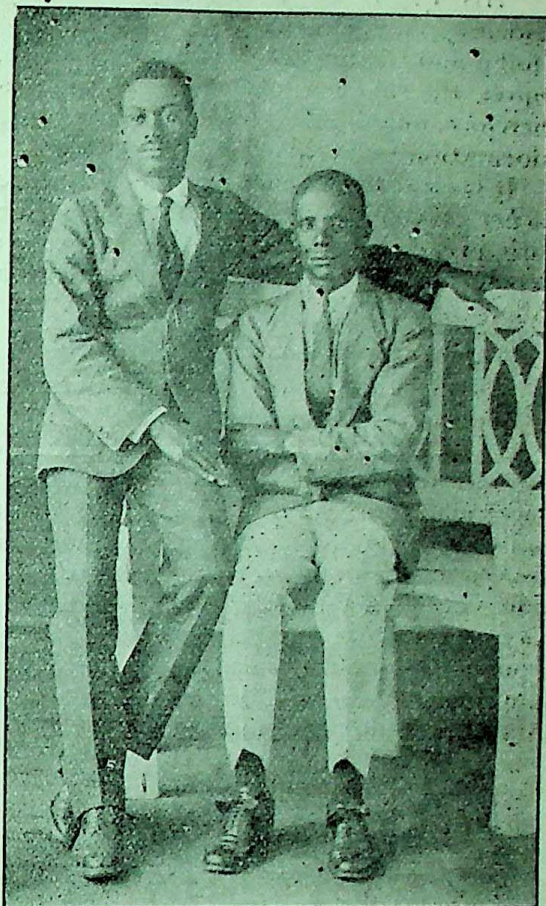
‘Clemency’ is a strange word for a practising barrister to use, who is taking up a case where no evidence whatever has been given to form that his clients are guilty!

Mr. Dracott then goes on to show, that the Act, under which Harry and George were deported, lays down very clearly how, before deportation, there should be sufficient evidence *on oath* to satisfy the Governor of the genuineness of the charge.

“As far as I am instructed,” he goes on to say, “neither of my clients have the slightest notion, what the evidence against them amounts to, or by whom it was given, or in what manner.”

He then explains to the Governor, that ‘evidence on oath’ according to the Indian Evidence Act, which is in force in Kenya, means statements of witnesses made on oath, in their examination in chief, and includes statements made by them in cross examination and re-examination.

Mr. Dracott shows from the example of his own clerk, George, who was deported along with Harry, how impossible it was that any such process of taking of ‘evidence on oath’ could have been carried out. George had been in Mr. Dracott’s office for several days beforehand, and was evidently absolutely unconcerned about any action Government was taking against him. This appeared to Mr. Dracott (to quote his own cautious words) “clearly to show a certain



Harry Thuku and Prince Sunnu of Uganda.

amount of innocence.” George was therefore not aware of any evidence having been recorded against him, and was given no opportunity of cross examination. It was the same with Harry Thuku. Mr. Dracott, as a barrister, knowing the country and the difficulty of reaching the truth, then says,—“I feel that the value of evidence given on oath, but not subjected to cross examination, is particularly little, or nothing”. “Entirely relying on such evidence constitutes a grave danger to the public, particularly to the native, who after all, being thoroughly ignorant, should be given much greater latitude and opportunity of defending himself, especially as Your Excellency’s orders are final and without any appeal.”

His Excellency, Sir Edward Northey, replied to this appeal, through his Private Secretary, as follows:—



"His Excellency is advised that the evidence, on which the removals of Harry Thuku and George Mugekenji were made, enjoys the highest privilege; and he is therefore unable to supply you with the information you request."

It is clear from this, that the '*lettre de cachet*' system, which filled the Bastille with prisoners and led to the French Revolution, is not out of date in a British Colony.

## V

The pity of it all is, that this Governor in question, Sir Edward Northey, is a nerve-racked man, who has been through the war and has never had any real rest since; who has been wretchedly ill and has had to undergo an operation, while he was Governor, losing one of his eyes; who is unfit, even under normal conditions, to stay on year after year as Governor in the Kenya Highlands, which are admittedly injurious to the nerves of Europeans, when they are already affected.

Such a man might, in a moment of nervous depression, be swayed by any plausible evidence, given in secret and under the strict seal of secrecy. He need not bring it out into the open. He need not even tell his own Ministers. All he has to do is to sign a paper,—a '*lettre de cachet*'. And from that moment a man, like ourselves, with family ties and human affections, is suddenly taken off, hundreds of miles away, to a desolate spot where no one can visit him.

Furthermore, if that, which Harry Thuku himself relates, is true, the un-English character of such an act as this has in his own case been greatly increased. For, in his letter to Mr. Desai, he states that he is only allowed *four annas a day*. Nothing is granted for his family, or relations, who were dependent on him. Only the kindness and generosity of his Indian friends has prevented hardship.

Santiniketan.

C. F. ANDREWS.

## CORRESPONDENCE

## Calcutta University Affairs,

"Boosting up and Nepotism."

[As our object is, on the one hand, to afford members of the public opportunity to set right what is wrong by exposing irregularities, &c., and on the other, to give opportunities to whomsoever it may concern to correct wrong statements made in the course of such exposure, and as in the present case this object can be gained without giving more publicity to the names of individuals than is strictly necessary, in our last issue we omitted the names of the persons concerned, giving only their initials. In the present issue, too, we have followed the same principle. For this reason, we have also omitted a subordinate clause in the third sentence of the first paragraph of the letter printed below. This clause did not contain any refutation of the allegations of "One Who Knows," from whose rejoinder, too, some passages have been deleted in pursuance of the same rule.—EDITOR, THE MODERN REVIEW.]

To The Editor,

The "Modern Review".

Sir,

My attention has been drawn to two paragraphs in the June Number of the Modern Review, pages

739 and 740, in which, a correspondent, writing under the pseudonym "One Who Knows", makes some serious allegations against my son. As he is away in England, and, as such, unable to defend himself, I am compelled, most unwillingly, to send a reply which, I hope, you will kindly publish in the next issue of your Journal.....In my capacity as a parent, I feel it my duty to point out the untrue statements made by your correspondent.

P. 739, II (1). "One Who Knows" says that (1) my son "fell short by a considerable number of marks, after the final tabulation, to enable him to secure the position he eventually attained at the M. A. (Econ.) in 1918", that (2) "One of the friendly examiners had very obligingly given him half a dozen extra marks before he submitted his marks sheet", that (3) "the remaining examiners were sounded as to whether they would allow some extra marks each to the candidate in question", that (4) "as they showed reluctance on the ground that, besides marking the papers quite liberally, they had already given, on revision, ample grace marks, it so happened that the marks that were still wanting to make the candidate first in first class were allowed by way of grace straightway."

Each one of these allegations is false. My son obtained 498 marks, i. e., 18 marks more than



the minimum required for a First Class. He was also the only First Class man in his Group. No Examiner gave him any extra marks. Neither is it true that any grace marks were given to my son.

P. 740, III. Your correspondent says that "directly" my son "came out first in first class in the way mentioned above, he was put on the staff of the Post-graduate Department on a salary of Rs. 200 a month". This is not true. After passing his M. A. Examination he was appointed Professor in the Scottish Churches College, where he served for nearly a year. One of the Post-graduate Lecturers, Mr. Durgagati Chatteraj, resigned his post and my son was appointed to fill up the vacancy on Rs. 200 a month, the usual minimum salary for full-time teachers in the Post-graduate Department.

Your correspondent says my son "was elected for the Guruprasanna Ghosh Scholarship to proceed to Europe to study for the B. Com. in the London University in supersession of the claims of a number of bona fide Science students, for whom particularly the Scholarship is intended." "One Who Knows" insinuates that my son was not eligible for the Guruprasanna Ghosh Scholarship. I would draw the attention of your correspondent to the following extracts from the Calendar (vide pp. 283-85, Calendar, 1920 and 1921), the first from the will of the Donor and the second from the Scheme framed by the Senate to give effect to his wishes.

"The said University shall, out of the income thereof, send every year or as often as funds will permit either together or alternately pure natives of Bengal to study in Europe, America or Japan the Arts, Sciences and Industries of Europe and America."

"The application of every candidate must set forth precisely the Institution in Europe, America or Japan in which, if elected to the Scholarship, he intends to study, as also the particular branch of Agriculture or the Arts, Science and Industries of Europe, America or the East, in which he desires to specialize."

Your correspondent evidently does not know that my son passed the Intermediate Examination in Science with Physics and Chemistry before he went over to the Arts side, in this way fulfilling the conditions of the Guruprasanna Ghosh scheme as adopted by the Senate. I may add that the Selection Committee for the Guruprasanna Ghosh Scholarship for that particular year consisted of Sir Asutosh Mukherjee, Dr. P. Bruhl, Rev. Dr. W. S. Urquhart.

Your correspondent further says: "Favouritism did not stop here. He was allowed to draw an outfit allowance of Rs. 800—a thing unheard of in the case of such Scholars and quite unprovided for in the terms of the endowment." "One Who Knows" is not aware that this sum of Rs. 800 was paid not for "outfit allowance" as he says, but for passage money (vide Part III, P. 161, item 84, Minutes of the Syndicate, 1920). Such an allowance is not unheard of, for, in the past, whenever the state of the funds permitted, Scholars have been helped in paying their passage and occasionally an allowance for return passage has also been given. Among the Scholars who thus received an allowance in addition to the Scholarship may be mentioned Mr. Probodh Kumar Dutt, Mr. Birajmohan Das, Mr. Sadhan-

chandra Roy, Mr. Samarendra Maulik, Dr. Surendranath Dhar, Mr. Rabindranath Chaudhury, Dr. Meghnad Saha.

It is not correct to say that this is "quite unprovided for" in the terms of the endowment. In this connection, para. 8 of the Guruprasanna Scheme will bear quotation.

"The Syndicate may contribute towards the expenses of the passage of the selected Scholar such amount as the state of the funds may permit. The Syndicate may also, whenever practicable, contribute towards the return passage of any Scholar who has specially distinguished himself in his studies."

I regret exceedingly that such serious allegations are made by the gentleman hiding under a pseudonym and further that they should be published in the Modern Review without enquiry.

Yours faithfully,  
J. C. G.

The 7th June, 1922.

### Rejoinder by "One Who Knows."

The Editor of the *Modern Review* has sent me the letter which Mr. J. C. G. has written to him in refutation of the charges that I brought against the University in reference to the position which his son, Mr. M. K. G. attained at the M. A. Examination and the mode of his securing the Guruprasanna Ghosh Scholarship for 1919. As he has chosen to do so, it behoves me to explain as far as possible all the facts and incidents that relate to the statements I have made.

With regard to how the position was acquired by Mr. M. K. G. at the M. A. Examination, I would refrain from dragging the names of my informants into this controversy, lest I should imperil their worldly interests. If I could have counted upon their assistance, the matter could have been explained quite convincingly. But at a time like this they may falter and hesitate, plead forgetfulness or deliberately shirk giving out the truth. Men do sometimes remain silent, prevaricate, or even tell lies, but facts generally do not change complexion. I shall, therefore, rely upon some facts, which, I believe are not subject to change. I mean I shall take my stand upon the marks-sheet of Mr. M. K. G. at the M. A. examination. I assert, subject to correction by the Controller of Examinations, that the marks obtained by Mr. M. K. G. are as follows:—

	First half	Second half,
First paper.....	26 out of 50	35 out of 50
Second ".....	16 " "	36 " "
Third ".....	27 " "	26 " "
Fourth ".....	27 " "	35 " "
Fifth ".....	19 " "	36 " "
Sixth ".....	67 out of 100	
Seventh ".....	81 " "	
Eighth ".....	67 " "	
Total	498	

I wish to draw attention to a few points in connection with these marks.\* The first is, that their total is the same as that mentioned by Mr. J. C. G.

\* The letter of "One Who Knows" published in our last issue, and these marks, reached our hands at the same time.—Editor, M. R.



The second is that in the first halves of the first five papers, the marks are not high : in fact, in the first half of the second paper, the candidate failed to obtain pass-marks, and in the first half of the fifth paper, he barely passed : but in the second halves of four out of five papers, he has obtained high marks. How is it that in the first halves of all the five papers, the candidate invariably obtains low marks, and in the second halves of all but one of the same papers on the same Subjects, he equally invariably gets high marks ? Does not this fact betray manipulation of the marks or the marking of these papers ? Stress may be laid, in reply, on the fact that in the third paper the marks assigned to the second half are almost equal to those given for the first half ; but may not this be justly interpreted as a cleverly kept loop-hole of escape from what would otherwise have been an irresistible conclusion that the marking or the marks of these papers had been manipulated in some way ? I now come to the third point, which is, that in the sixth, seventh and eighth papers, the candidate has consistently and invariably obtained higher marks than in the two halves combined of the first five papers. Does not this fact also indicate manipulation ? The fourth point is, that in the two papers on International Law, viz., the sixth and the seventh, the candidate shows unequal proficiency of a marked character, obtaining 67 in one paper and 81 in the other. Standing by itself, this fact might not have been of any significance, but taken along with the other facts, it looks suspicious.

In the above paragraph I have drawn certain conclusions from the marks obtained by Mr. M. K. G. If Mr. J. C. G. can give a more reasonable explanation, I am prepared to be convinced.

Mr. J. C. G. has been pleased to proclaim that his son got 498 marks—18 marks more than the minimum required for a first class. I was perfectly aware of the fact when I noticed his son's case. I can only say in reply that if the total marks obtained by Messrs. Birendranath Datta, Sudarsan Maitra and Rameshchandra Ghose, the three Economics students, who all beat Mr. M. G. in the B. A. Economics Honours, and each of whom got a first class in Group A at the M. A. and maintained their respective positions in order of merit at the latter examination, were available to me I could have given a clincher to Mr. J. C. G. as to the real significance of "498". In their absence and failing to refer to the answer-books submitted by Mr. M. K. G. and his three formidable competitors, I am not in a position to explain the underlying significance of that figure of three digits (498). Also for the same reasons I am unable to prove conclusively whether any examiner or examiners or somebody else other than an examiner did give grace marks to Mr. M. G. or not. If Mr. J. C. G. is really anxious to vindicate the achievements of his son, let him apply to the university authorities to place his son's answer-books at the M. A. before an impartial committee and see if my allegations are not proved to the hilt.\*

I am sorry I have not been quite precise in using the expression "directly" in regard to the period of Mr. M. G.'s service in the Post-Graduate Department. It is undoubtedly a fact that Mr. M. G. was for a few months on the Economics staff of the Scottish Churches College where he was getting Rs. 120 per month (Rs. 80 less than his starting salary at the University). My reason for not referring to that short service put in by Mr. M. G. at the Scottish Churches College are first, because his name does not occur in the "Description of Affiliated Institutions" among the teaching staff of the Scottish Churches College in the Calendars either for 1918-19 or for 1919-20, although we find in both the volumes the name of his former competitor Mr. Birendranath Datta on the staff for economics ; secondly, it is only recently that I have found that the only place where his name does find a place is in the tabular statement of the teaching staff in July 1919 appended to the Inspection Report of the College for 1919-20 dated 7th January 1920 and set out in the *Minutes*, part III, 20th August 1920, pp. 275-305. There he is mentioned as one of the teachers on the Economics staff who delivered altogether eleven lectures, but there was simultaneously the remark that he had already resigned, although *the statement is altogether silent as to the date of his appointment in the college in the usual column therefor,—an omission not observed in the case of any other appointment.* Mr. M. K. G. really, as stated in this application for the G. P. G. scholarship, joined the Scottish Churches College in November 1918 and continued up to the beginning of the long vacation (April) in 1919 ; for Mr. J. C. G. says he joined the Post-Graduate Department on the resignation of Mr. Durgagati Chattaraj, which event took place on or about 18th July, 1919. Does this period constitutes "nearly one year" ? Taking all these facts into consideration, it strikes one that Mr. M. G.'s service at the Scottish Churches College was a sort of stop-gap measure.

I have never insinuated that Mr. M. K. G. was ineligible for the Guru Prasanna Ghosh scholarship, in view of the indisputable fact that he passed the I. Sc. "with Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry as his optional subjects" and "stood ninth in order of merit and first in Physics and obtained the Duff Scholarship and the Saroda Prasanna prize in the subject". But surely Mr. J. C. G. need not be told that "eligible" does not mean the same thing as "most eligible" ! May I also incidentally observe that Mr. J. C. G. must feel ashamed that his son, who could secure the first position in Physics at the I. Sc. (at which his own father as Head Examiner in both the Physics papers undoubtedly saw to it that no partiality was shown to him) and stood ninth in order of merit at that examination should all of a sudden lose his uncommon proficiency in the Science subjects, so much so that he eventually gave them up and had recourse to purely arts subjects in his B. A. ? Again, the very outstanding fact that Mr. M. K. G., the first in Physics and ninth in order of merit at the I. Sc., threw up his scientific pursuits at the end of the I. Sc. for some occult reason and took to purely arts course in the B. A. sufficiently disqualified him for the G. P. G. scholarship, the sole purpose of which is the study abroad of some

\* Additional information relating to this matter, emanating from two different sources, has been voluntarily given to us recently. At present we do not think it necessary to use it.—Editor M. B.



can justly and rightly contend, therefore, that there was nepotism and that Mr. M. K. G. was awarded the Guru Prasanna Ghosh scholarship in supersession of the claims of a number of deserving and out and out science candidates, such as, Messrs. Bijoy Kumar Basak, M. Sc., Biraj Mohan Gupta, M. Sc., Sudhakar Chakrabarti, M. Sc., Khitish Prasad Chattopadhyaya, B. Sc., Nalini Mohan Basu, B. Sc., Sudhabindu Biswas, B. Sc., or bona fide technical students, like Messrs Pratap Chandra Basu, Jiterdra Nath Das Gupta and Jiban Krishna De, B. Sc., B. E., and this may have been done with a far-sighted and ulterior object in view, namely, to enable Mr. M. G. to qualify himself for a Commerce Degree abroad so that he might on his return claim to get into a nice berth in the newly-created Commerce department in the Post-Graduate section on a fat salary.

The real object of the donor is quite clear from Rule 3 of the scheme adopted by the Senate for giving effect to his wishes. It is laid down there that "If an applicant has not already passed the Intermediate Examination in Science of this University or the final examination of a recognised School of Arts or Technical or Agricultural College, he must produce with his application proof that he has attained a knowledge of English and Mathematics up to the standard of the Matriculation Examination and of Physics and Chemistry up to the standard of the Intermediate Examination in Science". As Schools of Arts teach some fine or industrial arts, the word 'Arts' here does not refer to history, philosophy, literature, economics, etc., which are vaguely termed *Arts* as distinguished from the *Sciences* in University curricula. So, candidates must be either science candidates, or technical or agricultural or "arts and crafts" candidates. It may be conceded that by virtue of his having passed the I. Sc. examination Mr. M. K. G. was a science candidate. But as he did not keep up his science studies after passing his I. Sc. it should be clear to the meanest intelligence that his claims as a science candidate were inferior to those of all those candidates who were M. Sc.'s or even B. Sc.'s. A hurried glance at the list of candidates shows that there were among them eleven M. Sc.'s and one M. A. in Physics. The M. A. stood first in the first class of his year. The number of B. Sc.'s was much larger. It is a very significant fact that in the "*Statement showing the names and qualifications of the applicants for the Guru Prasanna Ghosh Scholarship for 1919*", printed by the University, the qualifications have been numbered, the marks obtained in a particular subject mentioned and the striking points italicised only in the case of Mr. M. K. G., similar consideration not being shown to the other 43 candidates, among whom, too, there were professors. Why and by whom was this done?

Mr. J. C. G. evidently tries to create some effect

by saying that the committee for the selection of the Guru Prasanna Ghosh Scholars for that particular year consisted of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, Dr. P. Bruhl and Rev. W. S. Urquhart, apparently meaning thereby that the members made the selection with great discretion and impartiality. .... [Here followed in the manuscript a detailed examination of the claims of these three persons to be considered impartial and independent judges of merit. We have omitted it as not necessary, though quite reasonable.—Ed., M. R.]

I owe Mr. J. C. G. an apology for wrongly stating that the allowance of Rs. 800 paid to Mr. M. G. as passage money was for his outfit and that such a grant was a thing unheard of and unprovided for in the terms of the endowment. By a curious association of ideas I mistook one thing for the other. What I really intended to refer to in that connection was the grant of two instalments of the scholarship *in advance* to Mr. M. G. besides the passage money, (vide *Minutes*, part III, 6th August 1920, item 96, at page 218), as also certain other things. Such a grant was to my limited information a thing unheard of and unprovided for. Will Mr. J. C. G. cite another such instance or refer me to any portion of the donor's will or to any part of the scheme which empowers the syndicate to make such a grant? Is it not a fact that ordinarily no grant out of the scholarship is made till the scholar gets abroad and reports his arrival there? Then, even the grant of the passage money is more or less a matter of favour with the authorities. That is why out of 19 scholars sent up to 1919 Mr. G. could name only seven who got the passage allowance. I know of a scholar's case I mean that of Mr. Nripendra Kanta Nag, B. Sc. (not an M.A., as shown in the recent calendars), who was not favoured with any passage money although he applied for it. The other things that I wanted to refer to are that Mr. M. has been allowed to continue as a member of the Provident Fund, and that he has been granted study leave for 3 years, probably (as to this I am not yet sure) with an allowance of Rs. 100 a month to supplement his scholarship. This allowance was prayed for at the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts held on 7th August, 1920, its consideration being "deferred until further orders." Is it usual or regular either to pray for such an allowance or to grant it?

It was stated in Mr. M. G.'s application that he intended to study for the degree of Commerce at the Victoria University, Manchester. Why has he gone to London instead? And will Mr. J. C. G. say what progress his son has been making according to the certificate of the Institution where he prosecutes his studies (according to rule 10 of the scheme)? For "the continuance of the scholarship shall depend upon the regular production of such certificate".

"One Who Knows."



## COMMENT AND CRITICISM

[ This section is intended for the correction of inaccuracies, errors of fact, clearly erroneous views, misrepresentations, etc., in the original contributions and editorials published in this Review or in other papers criticising it. As various opinions may reasonably be held on the same subject, this Section is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion. As, owing to the kindness of our numerous contributors, we are always hard pressed for space, critics are requested to be good enough always to be brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point. No criticism of book reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, "The Modern Review." ]

### "The Present State of the Calcutta University," in the light of facts.

An attempt has been made by Professor Surendra Nath Sen in the June number of the *Calcutta Review* (a paper purchased some time ago by the Calcutta University) to controvert Prof. Jadunath Sarkar's article in the April number of the *Modern Review* examining the present condition of that University and laying down the broad lines of reform. I shall not tire the readers by adverting to Dr. Sen's opinions and profuse quotations of vague general import, but examine the facts put forward by him, so that the public can judge of the truth for themselves. Minor points are necessarily omitted for want of space.

On the subject of the salaries of University lecturers, Prof. Sarkar's contention is borne out by the very statistics quoted by Professor Sen. A newly passed First class M. A., if he can enter the Post-graduate department as a lecturer starts on an initial salary of Rs. 200, rising by regular annual increments of Rs. 25. But if he enters a private College his starting salary is (as shown by Prof. Sen) never more than Rs. 170 and sometimes as low as Rs. 100. Several of these colleges have no progressive scale of pay. First class M.A.'s (of the inflated post-1914 post-graduate nickel mintage) have been known to go abegging for posts in private Colleges on Rs. 125 a month, and one of them has entered a school in Calcutta on Rs. 50. Take a single instance. A Professor served for a few months in the Scottish Churches College on Rs. 120, but he got appointed on Rs. 200 at the University. Here the advantage is all on the side of the University lecturer. The case of older and experienced teachers is quite different; special pay is offered to them by the Colleges, or has been reached by them by reason of length of service; even the University gives such men an initial salary considerably higher than the sum of Rs. 200 a month.

Let me take a concrete case. Dr. Harendra Coomár Mukherji was serving in the City College on Rs. 250; he is taken into the University service on Rs. 400. Add to this big jump, that he is thenceforth made a multi-examiner, not only at the M.A., (which might be reserved for the post-graduate staff) but also at the B.A. (the highest examinations open to mere College lecturers); he is in addition given Rs. 2,000 as fee for the herculean labour of clipping leaves out of the printed Bible (with the learned assistance of two veteran heads of Colleges) and sending them to

the press. Dr. Surendra Nath Sen himself was a multi-examiner in 1921-22. How many different papers are given by the University to any mere College lecturer who passed in the same year with him?

Regarding the practising lawyers among the Calcutta University lecturers on ordinary Arts Subjects (not the Law College), Prof. Sen remarks, "Practising lawyers, however, should be appointed only in unavoidable cases, as for example in the case of Dr. Suhrawardy and Mr. Khuda Bukhsh, when no scholar familiar with the original sources of Islamic History was available."

This learned Vakil for the Calcutta University is discreetly silent as to whether this wise rule is at the bottom of the appointment of certain other practising lawyers as History or English lecturers, such as Mr. Pramatha Nath Banerji, Mr. Rama Prasad Mukherji and Dr. Gauranga Nath Banerji (before his translation to the wealthy repose of Post-graduate Secretaryship). These, we knew, are unavoidable cases; but we have yet to know of what original sources these three young lawyers were the indispensable and sole repositories. Why does Dr. Sen fight shy of even naming them?

Dr. Sen says, "if we had similar [agricultural and commercial] institutions in Bengal, students would have eagerly flocked to them in large numbers." Have students flocked in large numbers to the Agricultural class started with the help of the Khaira Fund? He thinks "courses of guided self-training" would be too costly. Certainly not too costly for the resources of the University if there were no thoughtless expansion. He says that at Robertson College his lecture work was reduced by 4 hours a week in consideration of his research work. But he omits to mention how much lecture work he had still to do. Was it twenty periods a week?

Prof. Sen should know that the organisers of the Bhandarkar commemoration volume published it with money raised by them for the purpose. But the organisers of the Ashutosh Commemoration volumes were not the University; they got it (or rather their hero got it) published at the expense of the University, which had not raised any funds for the purpose.

Prof. Sen writes:—"Government service offers a still greater charm [than service under the Calcutta University] since the abolition of competitive examinations for the recruitment of executive officers. A lucky man, if he plays his cards well, can easily secure appointments for a son or



a son-in-law and thus establish an *ijārā* right over the public services of the country."

Is Professor Sen really ignorant of a place where a chief gives appointments under him to brother-in-law and son-in-law (plural number), brother-in-law's son-in-law and son-in-law's brother-in-law? But these are, no doubt, cases of the Nair law of succession and are therefore rightly excluded from Prof. Sen's list of *ijārā* rights. Has Prof. Sen never heard of a wicked place, far away from the pure serene of the Senate House, where the Boss sent up the name of his favourite's son-in-law (a third class M.A.) in preference to many first class M.A.'s for one of these very "much-coveted appointments in the executive service" of Bengal, and the *ijārā* was secured for this young man the next year, though the father-in-law was a University servant and not a Government servant? Has he never heard of a class of hereditary bondsmen who have been serfs to the father, are serfs to the son, and will be serfs to the grandson, if they live so long? Does he not know how a faithful vassal was pressed to vacate his seat in the Syndicate to make room for the heir-apparent who had just entered the Senate? But these are instances of academic villinage, and not of *ijārā* rights, and therefore they do not excite Prof. Sen's indignation.

Prof. Sen writes:—"Prof. Sarkar might have assisted [the Sadler Commission] in their arduous task by placing his views before them but he found himself unable...to co-operate with the Commission at that time. For the same reason, he failed to attend a single meeting of the Board of Higher Studies in History and lend the weight of his experience and wisdom to the deliberations of that body when he was co-opted a member in 1917."

What are the facts of the case? Professor Jadunath Sarkar had been in sole charge of the University M.A. classes in History at the provincial centre of Patna (then under the Calcutta University) for eight years; but his name was carefully excluded from the list of witnesses submitted to the Sadler Commission for examination. The "hidden hand" in this clever manœuvre can be easily detected by the reader. In 1917-18, when he was University Professor at Benares, Prof. Sarkar was for one year only co-opted a member of the History Board at Calcutta. Of all the Universities of India, that of Calcutta alone refuses to pay the travelling expenses of its examiners and co-opted members of Boards. This University has money to pay Mr. Pramathanath Banerji Rs. 70 for "distributing among his students of the 6th year [M.A.] class type-written copies of his lecture-notes;" it has money to present Rs. 6,000 to three learned gentlemen on its staff for cutting leaves out of the Bible and the Authorised Commentary and sending them to the press, though one of these three declared that Rs. 1500 would have been quite enough, (he swallowed the golden pill, however); it has money to spend Rs. 1200 on modifying Palit's Ballyganj house to suit Mr. Bhandarkar and charge him only Rs. 100 a month, although the fair rent of such a flat in that quarter and with its extensive grounds is Rs. 400 a month. But it has no money to pay a single second class fare to its mufassil examiners and co-opted members to enable them to attend meetings at Calcutta. In fact, the attendance of mufassil examiners and co-opted members is considered

undesirable, as they are likely to introduce an element of independence and freshness of outlook and mar the placid harmony of the Calcutta post-graduate coterie. One University has been known to offer a second class fare across the length of the Indian continent from Darjeeling to Lahore and back, in order to enable an examiner to attend a meeting for discussing question-papers. But the ideals of the Calcutta University are diametrically opposite to this.

Prof. Sarkar, then a University lecturer under Calcutta, had sent his views on the general principles of reorganisation of post-graduate instruction (without going into details, which would have been premature then), but they were quietly burked by the President. [We published them in our columns at the time.—Ed. M. R.]

With regard to the case of creating first-classes and Firsts by manipulating the marks, which Professor Jadunath Sarkar cited, Dr. Sen attempts a long and laboured defence, and questions the accuracy of Mr. Sarkar's figures. A few facts will show what a shameless case of boosting up it was.

(a) The candidate in question had, as the result of the marks submitted by the original examiners, secured *second-class Honours*. Then came the manipulation of results (euphemistically called 'moderation' at Calcutta). Two papers\* out of the six were ordered to be *re-examined by his private coach*, who had before this examined a third paper at the same examination, and thus finally he became the arbiter of *half the entire course* (three papers out of six). The moderation was so immoderate that in the result as moderated, no loophole was left for any risk or chance, and the private coach's private pupil was boosted up to the first class with a rear-guard of three other boys,—all originally 2nd class men.

(b) At the M. A. examination two years later, *fair half the entire Course* (four papers out of eight) was *ab initio given to this candidate's private coaches*,—examiners in some cases are promoted with their pupils from the Matriculation upwards. Nothing was this time left insecure; he got the *first place in the first class* in the combined result of the eight papers †, though he had failed to gain the top-mark in some of the other papers, and in one or two cases even the first class minimum.

Dr. S. Sen rightly appeals to the records of the Calcutta University in support of his statement. But it is a rule with law courts that a 'record' to be held judicially valid must be the original document signed and submitted by the persons concerned (here the examiners), and the great public Judge outside should have the right to examine the date, character and condition of these "records." Does Dr. Sen accept this test of the reliability of "documentary evidence"?

Prof. Sen tries to defend this result by refer-

\* One of the original examiners whose work was thus thrown over-board was Prof. Keith of the Rangoon College. Is it contended that he did not know his subject or was a careless dishonest examiner?

† His thesis, which secured from his coaches 90 p. c. of marks in one-fourth of the entire M. A. course, was afterwards read by an Englishman (an experienced and able professor) who called it a *tour de force* attempted without real knowledge and a mere catalogue of characters from Browning.



ring to the fact that he himself gained a second class in his B. A. and a first class in his M. A. How many private coaches-examiners could he afford to keep? He forgets that in the case of the candidate under discussion, the full brigade of private coaches was pushing him from behind, at both the examinations, and the only difference lay in this that in the original deal of examiners in the B. A. his private coach had only one paper out of six to examine, but in the reshuffling for "moderation" as many as three were given to him; while at the M. A. four papers out of eight were given to his coaches *ab initio*. Moderation of the result in the latter case would have been a superfluous labour.

On p. 416 Professor Sen sophistically confounds the private coaches of this particular candidate with University tutors, who are a public and legitimate body. What University tutor teaches any other candidate in the latter's house?

The artificial creation of seventeen first class M. A.'s in English at last year's examination, when only three had really qualified for this class, has not been denied and cannot be denied, because the records are still fresh and preserved in the original. The case is instructive and arguments adduced to defend it are illustrative of the present-day ideals of the Calcutta University. One young man was boosted up to the first class, necessarily with thirteen others above him, who were all short of a first class by marks ranging up to 35 in a paper carrying a total of 100 marks. It was the paper on Chaucer, who is admittedly the most difficult and most antique in style among the various authors to be studied for the A or non-philology group in English. It stands to reason that general students of English would score less in Chaucer than in Shelley or Scott. The examiners of the Chaucer paper were the very gentlemen who had lectured to all the candidates on this paper; their competence to examine and their impartiality as examiners cannot be doubted for a moment. They were two experienced teachers of the Presidency College, with very high academic qualifications and commanding a greater independence than the short-term direct servants of the University. Nobody has suspected them of lunacy or dotage. They have participated in the highest examinations of this University for years past. And yet their judgment was this year and in this paper thrown overboard. They challenged their brother

\* Dr. Sen will next time argue that Presidency College Professors have "a queer kink in their nature." Yes, they have. They never can look eye to eye with some University servants. For example, a student who headed the list in the University at the intermediate, escaped plucking by the skin of his teeth at the test examination of the Presidency College held three months before. It is possible for a boy to stand first in a subject at the University examination and gain the Duff scholarship and yet get low marks in that very subject in his class exercises at the Presidency College. Is there no means by which the Presidency College Professors can be "simply ignored" during the remainder of the present regime, as their Chaucer paper was ignored? It ought not to be beyond the brain of the Indian Lincoln and the principles of the Indian Washington. Shivaji would have done short work of them.

examiners (the "majority of fourteen") to look at the answer-papers of the candidates and say whether they could honestly give more marks for that sort of stuff. But this request was not acceded to; the answer-papers on Chaucer were not re-examined, not even looked at by the Board. They were simply ignored; because it was necessary to boost up 14-13 boys, and cancelling the Chaucer-paper-result was the shortest way to achieve this end. It was certainly examination by count of head (11 against 2); but not examination of candidates; it is the diametrical opposite of the Oxford method.

Dr. Sen writes:—"Prof. Sarkar is entirely wrong when he thinks that moral bankruptcy necessarily implies intellectual insolvency. Dryden was a moral bankrupt, but who will deny to him or Oscar Wilde or Jean Jacques Rousseau an exalted place in the intellectual aristocracy of the world..... But I will and do admit that a moral bankrupt should on no account be appointed a University teacher, and I therefore most respectfully request Prof. Sarkar not to try to lower the University teachers in the estimation of their pupils."

None of the contributors of this Review, least of all Prof. Jadunath Sarkar, has gone so far as to compare any University teachers to Oscar Wilde or (in matters spiritual) Dryden. Dr. Surendra Nath Sen speaks of them as if they were of the same type, for which we doubt not they will thank him. He forgets that genius is a heavenly gift, while scholarship is an acquisition. Even genius produces its highest possible only when it is moral. With the scholar, however, character is everything, especially if he is a teacher of youth. The Calcutta post-graduate students form their estimate of their teachers from the character of the latter as displayed by their independence in voting, their attitude towards additional sources of University income, and the method pursued by them in research work (in the case of those who are continuing research after winning their degrees). No "libel" or journalistic criticism is half so damaging as what the boys say about some of their teachers in their messes and round the Goldighi, and what the better type of University lecturers reveal under the vow of secrecy. University reform does not require time or even money so much as character and public spirit.

Dr. Sen defends sham in the Calcutta University in the year 1922 by saying that Oxford was not an ideal seat of learning half a century ago. Evidently, according to him the blunders (not crimes) of Oxford should be faithfully imitated by the Calcutta University as a "fundamental essential" of its growth today. Well might Oxford reply to him in the words of a mightier thinker than either Pollock or Bryce: "When this child of ours wishes to assimilate to its parent and to reflect with a true filial resemblance the beauteous countenance of [Oxford scholarship], are we to turn to them the shameful parts of our constitution? Are we to give them our weakness for their strength? Our opprobrium for their glory?"

Among the earliest crude prototypes of the steam engine is the aeolipile of Hero of Alexandria (c. 130 B. C.). Will the manufacture of an apparatus like it now by someone told to produce a modern steam engine be defended by Dr Sen?

As for the management of University finances, the points pressed by Prof. Sarkar and this Review are clear and remain unassailed:—(1) The accounts



of the university should be published and published immediately after the expiry of the financial year. (2) The accounts should be got ready for auditing immediately after the expiry of the year and the audit notes published. (3) The University Budget should be passed by the Senate before the year begins, and every large deviation from it should be covered by sanctioned reappropriation. (4) The audit it to be of any real use should be held immediately after the financial year and the audit notes sent to the Chancellor (with the University's explanations, if any) for action. Audit notes have been known to accumulate unanswered for years, in spite of reminders from Simla. The audit papers of 1920 had not reached the Bengal Government even in May 1922. (5) At present the Government has only the right to demand an audit at the end of the year. But to safeguard the University Funds it is necessary to have throughout the current year *ad interim* audits and right of inspection before any incurable mischief has been committed. The University for its own good ought to have continuous audit from day to day. (6) The trust funds of the University should be lodged with the Public Trustee. (7) The University Press should show a clear account of actual sales and expenditure year by year, and not merely report "the market value of work done", or disguise the loss (due to reckless printing) by crediting the income from compulsory text-books and wisely selected theses. The public ought to know how the business and research sides respectively stand financially at any time. (8) There should be definite leave and pension rules for the servants of the University. (9) No chair should be created unless there is a sure income to support it year after year, or, in other words, no new department should be opened in the hope of something "turning up." Any self-respecting employer would feel ashamed of himself if he has to leave his servants in arrears of pay for months, or call upon them to take only part payment, or reduce their salary for no fault on their part. A University has no body to be kicked or soul to be blessed; still, it ought not to forfeit the respect of decent people by its reckless financial mismanagement.

Professor Jadunath Sarkar has been laying stress again and again on certain facts, namely, that there are some very sound scholars and earnest students in the post-graduate department, and many who are not; that if the Calcutta University really wishes to get good value for the enormous money it is spending and make a true advance towards the Oxford standard, its chief (and his silent supporters) must set their faces sternly against the sham and reward and strengthen the hands of the good teachers, develop the sense of responsibility and initiative in the teachers and future heads, pursue the right method of teaching in scorn of all temptation to gain temporary popularity for the University or its newly-started departments and degrees, and above all things to scrupulously avoid the manipulation of examination-results to serve special cases. The promotion, honour and power given to the

undeserving, break the hearts of the truly good teachers and students alike and drag the University down.

It is convenient to Dr. Sen to ignore these points and make a general accusation of lack of appreciation, unreasoning prejudice and malicious hostility against those who are pressing for reform. He talks glibly of his chief in the same breath as Abraham Lincoln. Has he cared to inquire what soft job Lincoln gave to his son Ted, or his son-in-law (if he had any), or whether gossip was busy with Ted's career at Harvard, supposing Ted was there? Capturing the caucus and beating the big drum in a hired press cannot make a Lincoln, any more than long-windedness and rhetorical clap-trap can make a Jessel.

A. B. C.

### Mr. S. Maulik's Qualification.

In the course of a Note in our last number we wrote that Mr. S. Maulik, late professor, Calcutta University, was not a graduate. Mr. R. Maulik, orally, and Mr. D. Mukherjee, by letter, have pointed out to us that he is an M. A. of Cambridge. We are very sorry for this mistake, which was due to the fact that in the Proceedings of the Governing Body of the University College of Science, dated the 28th March, 1922, from which we made an extract in the aforesaid Note in our last issue, whilst Mr. S. N. Bal's name is printed with the letters indicative of his degree, Mr. S. Maulik's name is printed without any. As regards the remark we quoted from Nature, March 18, 1920, p. 64, viz., "it leaves more than an impression that the author lacked experience to begin with, and had not quite mastered his subject," Mr. R. Maulik and Mr. D. Mukherjee have told us that Mr. S. Maulik "is considered an authority on the subject he has treated of", "demonstrated by the fact that he has again been permitted by Dr. Shipley (Editor of the *Fauna of India* Series) and the Secretary of State for India to contribute another volume. He is at present engaged in writing his second volume."

EDITOR, MODERN REVIEW.

### Indian Member of League of Nations Intellectual Co-operation Committee.

A correspondent tells us that an Indian member of the Council of the Secretary of State for India was ultimately responsible for the nomination of the Indian member of the League of Nations International Intellectual Co-operation Committee, not the person named by the Calcutta correspondent of *New India*, whose information was quoted in our last issue.

EDITOR, MODERN REVIEW.



## GLEANINGS

**America's First Automobile—And Its Giant Offspring!**

The honour of building the first automobile of America is claimed for Gottfried Schloemer who drove a strange, tiny "horseless buggy" of his own design and construction through the streets of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, in 1889.

From this inventor's crude "freak" of 33 years ago—the probable progenitor of the modern high powered motor car—has developed a gigantic industry in which \$ 1,204,378,642 of capital is invested.

Mr. Schloemer's machine was hardly a car at all as we use the word today. Not until years later were the steering-wheel, pneumatic tire, and radiator invented.



First Automobile.

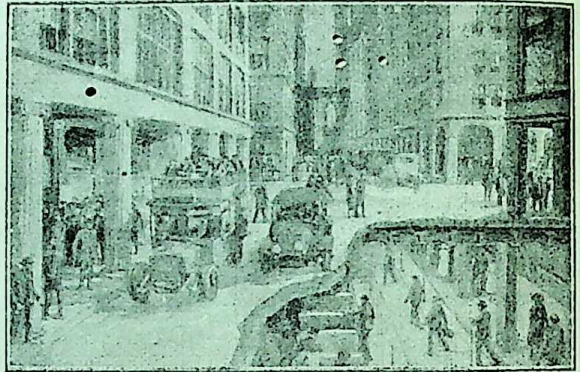
Today the auto industry is so vast that it is hard to comprehend. In the United States alone are registered 9,000,000 pleasure cars and 1,000,000 trucks. If these cars formed a procession, radiators against rear wheels, the line would extend over 16,000 miles. Half the population of the country could go auto riding at once, for there is a car for every ten people; but on all the state and national highways there would not be room for such a crowd.

Eighty-three per cent of the cars registered in the world are owned in the United States.

**Relieving City Traffic.**

To relieve the congestion of city traffic in America, it has been proposed, that the main

arteries of travel may be double decked. Suggestion has also been made to cut new streets or to tunnel through blocks of buildings forming arcades. Such arcades would be elevated, not interfering with the cross streets.

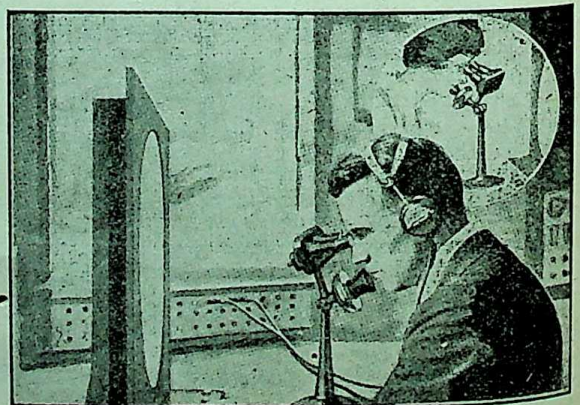


Double-decked Street, Planned for American Cities.

Endless moving sidewalks running at two, four, and six miles an hour and bordered by seats moving at a greater speed have already been planned for New York.

**Tele-Vision.**

It will soon be possible to see as well as hear by means of electricity. "Television" will be employed as generally as telephoning. As one listens to a voice at the other end of the line, he will also see every expression of the speaker's face.



Tele-Vision on the same basis as seeing as well as hearing, by electricity, from a distance.

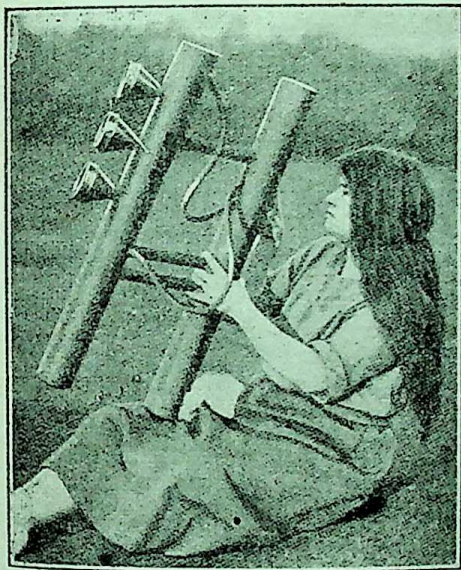


It will be possible to see as well as to hear either by the wireless telephone or over the regular wire circuits. There will be no limit to the distance of such transmission, so that we shall be able to talk to a person in any part of the world and watch his face at the same time.

In a general way the instrument used for television will closely resemble the mechanism of the human eye. Success in transmitting vision depends upon four things, and of these the famous engineer and discoverer Nikola Tesla claims to have already perfected two.

### The Wind Will Play Real Tune On A Flute.

The wind can play a real tune when assisted by a strange flute recently demonstrated. When the triple mouthpiece of this flute is held to face



Flute played by the Wind.

the wind, the air blowing through the instrument can be controlled to play a scale of eight notes.

### Sculptors, Replacing "Upholsterers," Re-Create Animals For Museum.

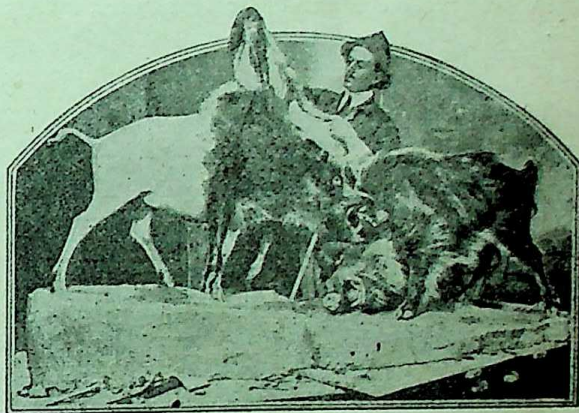
Under the tanned skin of the life-like wild animal in a modern American museum is a statue created by a sculptor. Mounting of animals is no longer a task for an upholsterer, but for a sculptor-scientist.

There was a time when a skin was sewed into a bag over a framework of sticks, and crammed as full as possible of hay or curled hair,

but now American museum groups are genuine works of fine art.

The first step in mounting an elephant skin is to make a clay statue of the animal in a natural pose copied from photographs. This model is life size and it is finished with such attention to detail that it might conceivably be exhibited in a museum of art. Its purpose, however, is to provide a perfect body for the skin.

The hide is stretched over the clay and pressed firmly into the wrinkles until it fits as closely as the skin of a living animal. Then a heavy coating of plaster is placed on the outside of the skin, arranged in three sections to form a mold. When this plaster hardens, it is removed with the hide, and all the clay scraped away from the inside, leaving only the skin covered by its heavy coat of plaster. Inside the skin is then built a firm shell, hard as granite, made of layers of wirecloth, papier-mache and shellac, exactly similar to the original clay statue. Over this the skin is again stretched, the plaster removed—and



Animals being Recreated for American Museums.

the stuffed animal appears as real as a living elephant, but light enough to be moved by hand.

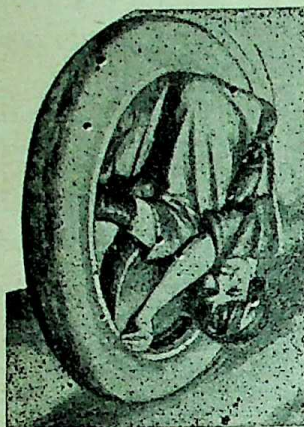
For long-haired animals, such as Rocky Mountain sheep, a slightly different method is adopted, since it would be almost impossible to clean the plaster out of the coat if it were poured directly upon the hide. Here the animal is modeled in clay and a coat of plaster placed directly over the clay model. This mold is cut apart in sections, the clay removed, and a permanent model of papier-mache built up inside. Over this the skin is stretched.

### Thrills in a Tire.

Looping the loop in an old auto tire is the latest game.

The youngster clings to the inside of the tire, while some grown-up sets the tire on edge



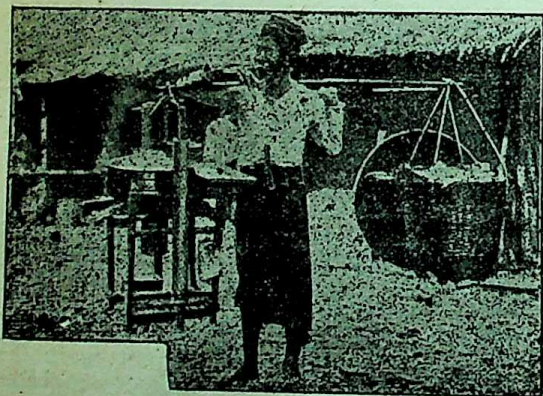


Looping the Loop in a Tire.

and gives it a shove. Carried heels overhead a dozen times a second as the tire rolls along, the child loops the loop with as many thrills as he would receive in an elaborate amusement park.

### Hot Lunch on the Run.

Ordering a quick, hot lunch in Java is no trick if you can catch up with the restaurant, for the quick lunch proprietors travel the



Hot Lunch on the Run in Batavia.

streets of Batavia with cookstove, tables, service, napkins, and all, slung over their shoulders. The meals are said to be well cooked.

### The Strongest Skull.

The strongest skull and the stiffest neck on record belong to a man named Siegmund Breitbart, known as the "Iron King", who supports a three-inch iron pipe on his head while the pipe is bent by 20 men. The pressure

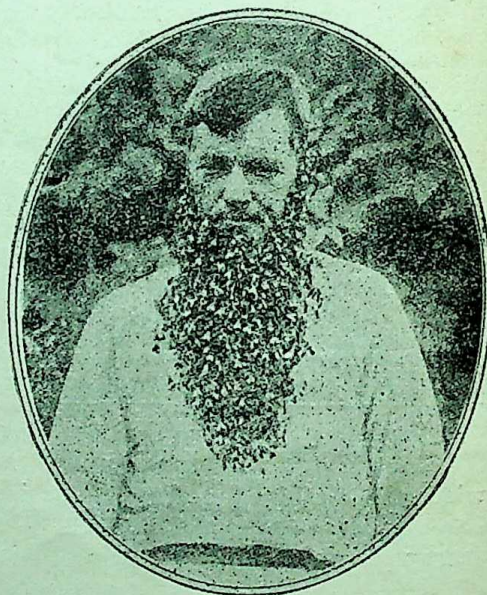


The Iron King with His Load of Twenty Men supported on the Skull.

on his skull is more than 150 pounds to the square inch.

### Bees Will Not Sting.

Bees will not sting while they are swarming, and will alight on almost any object. To demonstrate this, the veteran beekeeper shown below offered his chin to a swarm and



Bees do not sting while Swarming.

several thousand bees affixed themselves to his face. To induce the swarm to gather, the queen bee was placed in a little wire cage under the keeper's chin.

### Keep Blossoms Fresh in a Potato Vase.

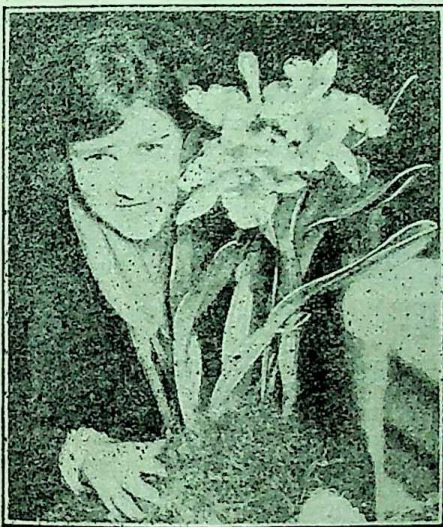
Potatoes are excellent receptacles for the stems of cut flowers, permitting the arrange-




ment of bouquets in ways that often cannot be obtained with the usual china flower-holders. The holes to receive the stems may be bored in the potato with the point of a paring knife. It is claimed, although upon what grounds it is not known, that if the stems of cut flowers are placed in a potato, they will remain fresh longer than those kept in water.

### Newest Orchid Is Worth Thousand Dollars.

One thousand dollars for a single flower ! This is not too high a price to pay for a new variety of "educated" orchid, declares V. Ferraria, of San Francisco, who has just developed a flower unlike all others in form and color.



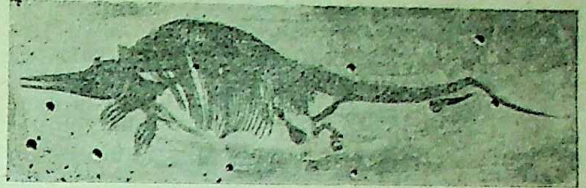
Orchid worth a Thousand Dollars. 

New varieties of orchids require painstaking cultivation and cross fertilization by expert gardeners. Long experiment with many kinds of orchids was necessary before this new hybrid could be produced.

### How Did the Ichthyosaurus Live ?

No other prehistoric creature now extinct is receiving as much consideration to-day as the Ichthyosaurus.

In view of the wealth of fossil material available for investigation and comparison, the scientist was enabled to study every detail of the bodily structure of this sea-monster. The scientist was also enabled to determine to a large extent its habits of life by means of a comparative study of existing creatures, whose



Ichthyosaurus.

bodily structure resembles that of the Ichthyosaurus.

The Ichthyosaurus appeared chiefly in the Jurassic and Cretaceous formations in Europe, as well as in the Upper Jurassic strata of America to Greenland in the North, and likewise in the Upper Triassic formations of Europe. Individuals 10 meters long were then a common occurrence, lived exclusively in the sea, and consequently might be considered to have adapted themselves to this life to a very high degree. Undoubtedly they were descendants of some land-monsters, although their bodily structure shows they were utterly incapable of moving about on land, but spent their lives exclusively swimming about in the water. In addition to their bodily characteristics, which show adaptation to an aquatic existence to a high degree, their method of reproduction is evidence of this fact. Sufficient proof exists that they were born alive. A total of 14 bodies of Ichthyosaurus were found with young ones in their bodies.

The Ichthyosaurus possessed a longtailed head, which was joined to the spindle-formed torso practically without a neck, a fact which enabled the monster to skim through the water with practically no resistance. Undoubtedly, through bodily structure and limbs they must have been the best swimmers among the sea-animals of that time.

They lived chiefly on cuttle-fish (Belemnites) and fish. In the upper Jurassic formations we find forms equipped with considerably fewer teeth. This reduction in the number of teeth is unquestionably due to the increasing numbers of soft-shelled cuttle-fish which developed at that time and which formed their main diet.

The skin of the Ichthyosaurus was completely naked, being an adaptation to its aquatic existence and its swift movements, and in order to overcome the resistance offered by the water. Nevertheless, there are traces of armored limbs (Panzarresten) to be found on the front and hind fins, which give proof of the fact that its land predecessors were armored.

In their outer appearance the Ichthyosauri remind one very much of the Delphine mammals. This correspondence can only be accounted for by necessary adaptation to a similar mode of living. Among other characteristics its simple vertebral head bespeaks its monstrous



nature. Bony ventral ribs covering its thoracic cavity, unquestionably enabled it to take in large quantities of air in diving into the depths, for one must assume that breathing took place through the aid of the lungs.

This reptilian family flourished in the period of the Liassic Formations, the most important feature of which is the large number of

different specimens of Ichthyosaurus and other reptilian remains. In the Upper Jurassic strata they become rarer, and rarer still in the Cretaceous rocks. Not a single Ichthyosaurus remains from the Tertiary Period. It must accordingly be assumed that this reptile became extinct in the Upper Cretaceous formation.

## INDIAN PERIODICALS

### Indian India.

In the *Hindustan Review* for June, Mr. St. Nihal Singh says in a telling way what may be said in favour of Indian India, by which he means the states under the ruling princes of India. In two prefatory paragraphs he says :—

A correct measure of the intellectual slavery bred in us Indians, as the result of political serfdom, is furnished by our attitude towards Indian India. Instead of deriving satisfaction from the fact that something like one-third of our country (about 700,000 square miles) and one-fourth of the total population (about 70,000,000 persons) have managed to escape foreign domination, perhaps not entirely, but to a greater or smaller degree, many Indians show a disposition to imitate the foreigners and to decry and to belittle Indian rule.

It often happens indeed, that the Indian critics go far beyond the alien critics, and can see no good in Indian India. They make out that the Rajas are inefficient, or indolent, or both, that they are no respectors of personal or political freedom and that the Indian States are, in consequence, back-waters of reaction.

He does not pretend that Indian rule is perfect.

It has its defects—and serious defects at that. I admit that the standard of administration in many places in Indian India is low, the rate of progress slow, and the sense of duty far from quick. These evils are partly the result of Indian indolence and inaptitude, and are partly due to the fact that, in the last instance, the Rajas are creatures of a system not of their own making.

This last point he amplifies thus :—

In view of the so-called education which our Rajas, in their boyhood, are compelled to receive, I often wonder that a single one of them ever amounts to anything. Whether they

attend the "Colleges", maintained out of funds subscribed by Indian States but not, in any real sense, controlled by them, or study at home under a British tutor or governor, they come under the influence of persons who have little knowledge of Indian culture and less reverence for it—men who, as a general rule, have grown up in an atmosphere of racial arrogance and who insist upon subordinating Indians at every turn. Love for hunting, sports, drinking, smoking and the like are more easily learned from them by the Rajas than consideration for their subjects and the art of just, humane, progressive administration.

Our people complain that modernised Indian Rulers are neglecting their States—that they are constantly running away to European capitals and there squandering money extorted from their subjects. To me it is a wonder that any of them does anything else. Does the education they receive teach them to love India and to devote themselves whole-heartedly to the improvement of the conditions in which their subjects live and work?

The British Resident at an Indian Court is also responsible for inefficient administration in the Indian States.

The Rajas are brought up and work under a system which gives them small chance to develop a sturdy sense of manhood or a conscientious conception of their personal responsibilities for the good governance of their State. The British Resident at an Indian Court, instead of fulfilling his original function and serving merely as a channel of communication between the Government to which he is accredited and his own, quite often constitutes himself into a super-Raja. He encourages the subjects of the Indian Ruler—especially the feudal barons and courtiers—to bring complaints to him against the state officials, and, sometimes with reason and sometimes quite arbitrarily, intervenes in their behalf. The Rajas, humiliated in the sight of



the very men who should be taught to look up to him—to go to him for redress of their grievances.

Administration under such a duality of control can never attain the maximum of efficiency. Half the troubles in Indian India are attributable to the assumption by the Resident of functions which, under existing treaties and undertakings, lie entirely outside his province, but which he arrogates to himself, with at least the tacit assent of his own Government.

One outstanding merit of the Indian States is then pointed out.

Whatever the faults in Indian India, whatever their causes, however, it must not be forgotten that it is only under Indian rule that the sons of the soil have the opportunity of rising to the highest office. No one has ever heard of Indian occupying, in British India, the highest position under the Crown. Even the Governorship given to one Indian was not handed over to another when he resigned.

In Indian India, on the contrary, no post is too good to be given to an Indian. To a truly self-respecting people that one fact should outweigh all the disadvantages which may mar Indian rule.

Such non-Indians—Europeans and Americans alike—as are employed in various parts of Indian India occupy the status of servants, and not of overlords. They may inwardly chafe against that position, and may occasionally act in a churlish manner. As, however, the standard of self-respect is rising, the Indian Rulers are more and more insisting upon their Western servants observing a more decorous mode of conduct, and it is becoming more and more difficult for them to exhibit boorishness.

Since in respect of its services Indian India is practically self-sufficing, except in isolated exceptions, it is saved the drain from which British India suffers. Salaries paid to officials remain within the State, or, in any case, within India.

There is, therefore, economic as well as political gain. Above all, the opportunity to rise to the highest post under the crown serves to stimulate the ambition of the youth in school and college.

Some of the evils complained of in Indian India exist in British India, too.

The Indian glamoured with the West will say, however, that persons who work under a personal Ruler have no security of tenure, that they are liable at any moment to be thrust into the shadows, even exiled; and that at every turn they find themselves victims of an undisciplined will. As if rule by a bureaucracy though supposedly impersonal, cannot be arbitrary! The only difference between the two is that a personal Ruler does not give the will while

the bureaucracy invariably does. The one issues a mandate, the other camouflages the executive action under a section of the Penal Code, or an Ordinance of which any civilised government would be ashamed.

Persons are deprived of their freedom without charge or trial in British India as well as in Indian India. In neither case is there the slightest pretence of ordinary legal process. Compared with the number of men kept in durance vile without charge or trial in British India, the number of those who have suffered from deportation and seizure of property in Indian India is a mere bagatelle.

Some of the obstacles which are deemed insurmountable in British India have been surmounted in this or that part of Indian India. For instance, free or compulsory education in Baroda and elsewhere, higher education through the medium of a vernacular in the Nizam's Dominions, measures of social reform in Baroda, Indore, &c., prohibition by the Nizam of Hyderabad of the sacrifice of cows on the occasion of the *Id*, separation of the judicial and executive functions in Baroda and the Nizam's Dominions, and the like.

It is a matter of common knowledge that if scarcity comes, the occupants of Government land in Indian India are able to secure remissions of revenue much more easily than is the case in British India. In the one instance personal rule is elastic, in the other, bureaucratic rule is mechanical and relentless.

Some of the writer's concluding observations are important.

Apart from considerations of social progress and administrative reform the Indian courts, which Indians have been systematically taught to depreciate, form a link with our past. The tradition of extending patronage to learning and art is still alive there.

In the scheme of future progress Indian India, it is to be hoped will play as great a part as it has played in the conservation of our traditions. If its rulers will only take their duties seriously they may enable us to evolve institutions of self-government suited to our genius, since Indians in British India are not free to evolve such institutions.

Even if British India succeeds in winning *Swarajya*, it will be a *Swarajya* modelled upon a foreign pattern. There is, however, nothing to prevent any part of Indian India working out a scheme whereby the indigenous system of rule can be remodelled to suit modern exigencies.

The writer might also have added that the experiment of obtaining electric power



from the flow of water was first tried and made successful in Indian India by an Indian Dewan.

In Wilfrid Scawen Blunt's *India Under Lord Ripon* the opinion has been expressed that the inhabitants of Indian India are materially better off than British subjects, though Indian India possesses a larger proportion of sterile land than British India.

### New Emigration Bill.

The Indian Emigration Act, 1922, is examined in an article in *The Young Men of India* and the following general observations made thereupon :

The Bill is by no means a perfect one. It only deals with recruiting in and emigration from British India, it leaves the Protector of Emigrants a provincial officer, when it would be far better that he should be responsible to the Government of India, along with the proposed agents; it still leaves a loophole to 'arkatis' through which they can get unskilled labourers to emigrate on false hopes; and there are other minor criticisms which might be urged. But the Bill is a great advance on previous ones. Indenture is finally abolished once and for all; recruitment is more carefully guarded against; emigration to any country is subject to the approval first of the Indian Legislature; the principle of appointing Advisory Committees to help the Protector of Emigrants in his difficult work of controlling emigration is admitted; and power is given to appoint accredited agents of the Government of India in the colonies where emigrants are settled. It may not be a perfect Bill, but it is a good Bill.

India has much lee-way to make up. She is crying out for a full recognition of equality and citizenship in the Empire. The conditions and status of her people overseas have aroused the indignation not only of the public, but also of the Government of India. This Act puts emigration into the hands of the public by bringing it under the control of the elective Assembly. Indians will have the right to say whether their people shall be sent abroad to conditions which have been in the past degrading, and which are now, to say the least of it, thoroughly unsatisfactory. They will be able to say to the Colonies: 'If you want Indian labour, you can only have it on our conditions and we will appoint a representative in your country who will see that these conditions are carried out. And when India can say that, and say it effectively, she has taken quite a big step towards her rightful place in the Commonwealth of Nations.'

### Method of Rice Selection in Assam.

Mr. S. K. Mitra, M. Sc., Ph. D., Economic Botanist to the Government of Assam, writes in the *Agricultural Journal of India* that usually two methods of selection of rice are adopted by the Assamese.

(1) The most careful cultivators select a plot in the field suitable for seed purposes. In this case the farmers depend for results on their good judgment. Extreme conditions, such as areas too dry or too wet, are always avoided. Uniform ripening and medium size of straw and ears are specially noted. The bundle of sheaves harvested from selected plots is kept separate for a time until the pressure of work in the fields is over, when the *mutees* (handful of sheaves cut and tied separately) are opened and selected by hand.

(2) In the second case, no field selection is done. When the proper season comes round, the rice is harvested in *mutees* and is temporarily stored. The *mutees*, when opportunity arise, are then taken out and selected by hand.

The method of selection from the *mutees* is very simple. The operator unties the *mutce* or bundle, grasps the top of the ears with the left hand and shakes them slowly. This causes the small ears to fall to the ground. He then grasps the other end of the *mutce* with the right hand and after again shaking the same, he lays it flat on the ground. All the small, poor and abnormal ears are then removed. The sound ears that are left are kept separately, threshed and packed in specially made bamboo baskets lined with straw called *tom* or *topa*. These baskets are then kept hanging from the ceiling of the house. Some of the cultivators prefer to hang the baskets in the kitchen or over the open fireplace where water is boiled. This latter practice keeps the seeds free from insect and fungus pests.

The seed baskets are taken down when the sowing season begins and are used as desired. In my opinion, this process of field and hand selection is perhaps the best and easiest method that every cultivator can follow so as to keep up the purity and quality of the cultivated paddies of the desirable types. That it exists among the Assamese proves how much the cultivator of this tract values good seed for his paddy crop.

### A Case of Plant Surgery.

In the same Journal Mr. L. B. Kulkarni recommends the kind of plant surgery, described below, by which he has saved the life of a Baobab tree at Bijapoor,



to the attention of those who want to save their old mango and other trees.

There is a gigantic Baobab tree (*Adansonia digitata*) at Bijapur probably more than 300 years old. Since the time of Ali Adilshah, offenders sentenced to death were executed on this tree (*Bijapur Gazetteer*). For this reason the tree is still known as the "Execution Tree".

The tree has a very thick stem with a girth of 49 ft. at 3 ft., 50 ft. at 6 ft., and 58 ft. at 10 ft. from the ground, where it divides into 3 huge branches. It covers an area of  $\frac{1}{4}$  acre. Thus it presents a huge appearance and attracts the notice of every passer-by.

Being old, this tree was naturally attacked badly by rot and also the main trunk near the base, where there was a hole, and the whole of the heart of the tree had disappeared.

Being afraid of losing the tree, the District Judge applied to the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Governor of Bombay for its rejuvenation. I was deputed from the Agricultural Department for the work.

Encouraged by the successful results of similar work done on *Casuarina* and other trees in the Ganeshkhind Botanical Gardens, Kirkee, I proceeded to Bijapur and examined the tree. In the base, a conical-shaped hollow was found of the dimensions of 15 ft. x 9 ft. x 17 ft. The following operations were made during the 1st week of September, 1920. The hole was filled in with rubble and mud and concreted over. The affected parts were first cut out and it was found that the rot was due to the grubs of a large beetle. Hundreds of these grubs were cut out of the tree. As soon as the wound edges were cut down to sound wood, the wound was tarred over and then filled in with concrete. All the other parts which showed signs of attack or susceptibility to it within a short time were tarred over, and all places where water was likely to lodge filled in with concrete.

The District Judge was pleased to remark in his letter addressed to the writer as follows:—

"The result has been a most workman-like job, and the tree this year, though a famine year, at once reacted by producing a far finer foliage than was noticeable the year before. The whole job has been satisfactorily done and had attracted a large crowd who had never seen such a surgical operation on the tree before."

Within my knowledge this kind of operation has proved successful on the following trees in the Deccan:—(1) *Guruga pinnata* and (2) *Casuarina equisetifolia*.

April contains a translation, by Mr. L. V. Ramaswami Ayyar, of a Bengali article on Methods of Historical Research and Composition, which all young writers and students of history will do well to read. The article concludes by suggesting how our learned Associations can be of help in the task of writing pure history.

(1) Learned Associations should, from time to time, publish a list of those books in the various subjects and departments of history from which the latest information and the most reliable materials can be had.

(2) Parishads and learned Associations and noble-minded Zeminders should collect such useful books (as are mentioned above), illustrated lists of old coins, the issues of the past 30 years of the Journals of the London and Bengal branches of the Asiatic Society, the Indian Antiquary, the Epigraphica Indica, the Map of India (1 inch to 4 miles scale) published by the office of the Surveyor-General, and other useful documents. A few books may, from time to time, be selected from this collection and circulated amongst all branches of the Parishads, and amongst reliable libraries of the mofussil also.

(3) A department should be opened in the main Parishad Office, from which it would be possible, for the enquiring student, to obtain a list of source-books, prepared by specialists on the subject. The Parishad should appoint specialists for every branch of history to whom all inquiries may be directed. The names and addresses of such specialists and the 'critical bibliographies' they would prepare in each branch of the subject, may also be published in the organ of the Parishad, the Sahitya Parishad Patrika. In one of the issues of the *Modern Review* (1907) such a critical bibliography in regard to Sikh history was published.

There is yet another duty on our learned Associations, and this is that all important books for the study of History, and particularly Indian History, should be placed before the public, in their Bengali garb. Every year hundreds of Bengali students appear for Sanskrit examinations; these are ignorant of English and they have neither the opportunity nor facilities to search for and find out historical essays from Bengali magazines. Therefore all those recent books published in the English language, about the ancient history and civilisation of our land, are sealed books to these students, many amongst whom may be possessed of acuteness and originality. It is regrettable that these students have to remain unacquainted with the latest information on their own subjects of study and their own religion, for the simple reason that they are ignorant of English. It is

## How to Encourage the Writing and Study of History.

The Educational Review of Madras for



a matter for our learned Associations to be ashamed of that Vincent Smith's "Ancient Indian History" and Prof. Macdonnell's "History of Sanskrit Literature" have not yet been translated into Bengali.

The examples of Gujrat and Maharashtra are cited.

The Guzerati language is spoken by a much smaller population than Bengali, and yet owing to the enthusiasm, industry and far-sightedness of the scholars of the province of Guzerat, that province has been deluged with translations in all kinds of subjects. But we in Bengal comfort ourselves with the proud feeling of possessing Bankim Chandra and Rabindranath without paying any heed to mass education. Having travelled through Poona and Baroda and examined the working of the schools there, I am firmly convinced that in another twenty years the people of the Maharashtra will have out-distanced the public of Bengal in respect of mass education.

The value of history is thus described :

A proper knowledge of history is the first step to national progress or greatness. In the measure in which we are able to find out the genuine truth regarding the past and in the measure in which we are able to apply to the present state of affairs the counsel and experience of the past, in that same measure our masses will be advancing in the path of progress and our united power will be producing proper and desired fruits. Further, in the measure in which we would be content with acquiring untruths or half-truths about our past, in that measure our national development will be retarded and the efforts of the people would be shorn of their fruits. As Professor Seeley says, history acts as the best teacher, guide and friend of all political and social leaders. The ultimate end and value of history is thus to illumine the paths of the future with the experience and example of the past.

### Separation of Railway and General Budgets.

Writing on Indian Railway Finance in the *Journal of the Indian Economic Society* for March 1922, Mr. R. M. Joshi claims to have shown that

The separation of the railway budget from the general budget is not absolutely essential for securing the most essential reform in railway finance, viz., (1) laying down a capital programme for a period (bearing in mind the need for loans for other than railway matters), (2) modifying the doctrine of lapse with regard to the Railway Depart-

ment, (3) determining the programme for repairs and renewals on commercial grounds, and (4) keeping railway accounts on strict business line. The proper disposal of the "net gain", when the "net gain" is ascertained on business principles, can also be arranged for without separating railway from general finance. There is the undoubted danger, in such a separation, of creating an *imperium in imperio*. The Acworth Committee while advocating the separation, do not want that *imperium*. So the proper course would probably be to secure the needed reform without resorting to separation of the railway budget, so that the danger of an *imperium in imperio* may automatically be avoided.

### Educational Policy in U. P.

In the course of an article on "My Educational Policy" in the May *Indian Review* Mr. C. Y. Chintamani writes :—

The Government of the United Provinces hold that reform of Secondary Education is necessary in order to fit the recipients of it the better to profit by University as well as Technical and Professional Education, and also to qualify them for service. The Intermediate stage of education will henceforth be a continuation of High School education and not the beginning of University education. High School and Intermediate education will be controlled by a Board of High School and Intermediate education which will be strong and representative. Arrangements are in train for the establishment of a number of Intermediate Colleges. It is the strong hope of the Government that the new Board will include in the curriculum of high schools and Intermediate colleges subjects which will qualify the student for technical education. The re-organised Allahabad University will be a unitary, teaching and residential institution but will also have an external side to deal with affiliated colleges outside the city of Allahabad. They will be known in future as Associated Colleges. The University will have two new Faculties, Engineering and Agriculture, the Civil Engineering College at Roorkee and the College of Agriculture at Cawnpore being transferred to it by the Government. There is at present a Faculty of Commerce but only a diploma of the Intermediate standard is given by the University. In the re-organised University there will be a degree in Commerce as there will be in Engineering and Agriculture. It is Government's intention that when funds permit a Medical College should be established at Allahabad as a part of the University.

There is no ground for apprehension that the Associated Colleges in outlying centres will suffer in consequence of the reform of the University. Repeated assurances have been given in this behalf.



## Women and the Madras Corporation.

The reader knows that Mrs. M. P. Devadoss, wife of the Hon. Justice Devadoss, is now a nominated member of the Municipal Corporation of Madras. In addition, we learn from *Stri Dharma*,

On May 23rd, Rao Bahadur G. Narayanaswamy Chetty proposed that Clause 51 of the Madras City Municipal Act be deleted. The clause is: "No person shall be qualified for election as a Councillor unless such person is of the male sex." After some discussion the Resolution was voted upon and passed by 12 voting for and 5 against. Since 1919 the Women's Indian Association has been agitating in Madras for these reforms by public meetings, letters in the press and private interviews with Councillors, and naturally its members are happy that their efforts have been rewarded.

It is very satisfactory that the Madras Corporation has now come into line with the Madras Legislative Council in granting to the women of the Presidency all the rights of representation within its power. By these steps Madras Presidency leads the way in establishing equality of rights for women in India.

The same journal states:—

One of the members of the Women's Indian Association, Mrs. P. Susheela Bai, of Bellary, has been nominated as a member of the Bellary Taluk Board. She is the wife of Mr. P. S. Raghunatha Rao, a High Court Vakil of that town, and she has identified herself for some time with the public interests of women and children there.

## Vidyasagar Vani Bhavan.

The same monthly writes:—

A comprehensive and praiseworthy scheme for the establishment of a Home for Hindu widows and women in

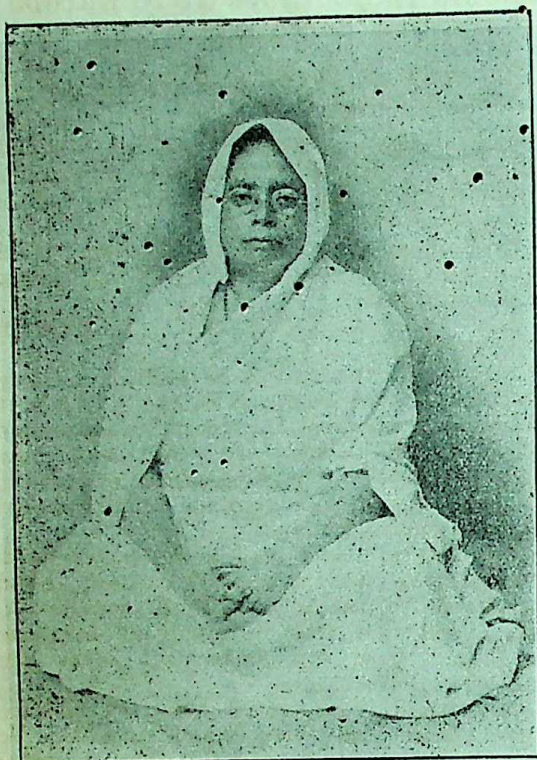


SREEMATI ABALA BOSE ( Lady Bose ).

has been worked out by Lady J. C. Bose, and is to be conducted under the auspices of the "Nari Siksha Samiti". This Society has long been known for its valuable educational work in Calcutta and it has already opened a cottage industries department for improving the economic condition of women of middle-class families in Bengal. The Home [ named "Vidyasagar Vani Bhavan ] is to be located in or near Calcutta and is to be in charge of a Ladies' Committee. Its objects will be: (1) To provide accommodation for helpless widows and women during the period of their training. (2) To prescribe courses of studies in general and technical subjects suitable for women. (3) To train women for educational and social service work. (4) To give them instruction in cottage industries. (5) To open boarding houses under proper safeguards for women to live in while earning their bread as teachers, clerks, nurses and industrial workers.

The following list of crafts which the Samiti





SREEMATI HARIMATI DATTA.

Who has given Rs. 10,000 to the Vidyasagar  
Vani Bhavan.

proposes to teach the pupils of the above Home will show how useful women's industry and skill can be to their country and how many avenues are open to them for obtaining an independent income:—Spinning and dyeing yarn, weaving cloths and carpets, sewing, knitting, embroidery, lacemaking, wick-making, pottery, manufacture of jams and jellies, condiments and confectionery, home-nursing, teaching and taking care of children and invalids, type-writing, and other home industries. We trust that sufficient funds and workers will be forthcoming to make Lady Bose's Home a great success and the useful institution it promises to be.

### Cruelty to Women Inadequately Punished.

*Stri Dharma* reports :

A wealthy gentleman was found guilty in Madras of cruel treatment to his wife, aged 14, to such an extent as to cause her severe injuries on her body. Though there was the medical certificate and the evidence of the lady doctor that the husband had ill-treated the little girl while he was under the influence of drink, yet the accused's counsel tried to make

out that the case was one of concoction and was purely domestic. The judge was satisfied that there was ill-treatment—but we are not satisfied with his sentence of merely Rs. 100 fine. In cases of this kind the sentence should be such as to act as a deterrent to this man and others of his brutal nature from bullying little girls. Such a fine to a wealthy man is entirely out of proportions to the value of the health and soul of his helpless child-wife and is nothing less than a travesty of justice.

We entirely agree.

### Punctuality on the Part of the Eaters of the Prepared Food.

Having been sinners ourselves in the matter referred to in the extract printed below, we are quite aware of the urgency of the reform advocated therein. Justice to our womanhood requires it. National efficiency demands it.

M. E. C. writes in *The Indian Cookery Magazine* :—

One of the ingredients often omitted from cookery recipes which can be assured of success is *Punctuality* on the part of the eaters of the prepared food. In India it is especially necessary to emphasise the inclusion of this most important factor in any magazine devoted to the furtherance of the culinary art and the improved management of household affairs; for in India more than anywhere else in the world strict punctuality and the value of moments, or even half-hours, is regarded as beneath consideration.

Regularity and punctuality at meal-times are an urgently needed reform in Indian households. We all know how the women of the household are tied to the fire and the kitchen because the men of the family fail to return for their food at the expected time. Sometimes they arrive hours late and there has been a continued strain of worry for the devoted wife who wishes to keep the "preparations" hot and nice for her husband. Because she expects him every moment, she cannot give her attention to any other subject. This want of punctuality brings about an appalling waste of time. It causes cooking to be an endless slavery. It often causes the best prepared dishes to become a failure, thus wasting good and expensive food material, disappointing the cook, and often enough giving indigestion to the eater.

If one asks Indian ladies what is it that gives them most trouble, they will almost all answer, "cooking". Now, that would not be the answer that Western women would give who do their own cooking. In each case there



are the same number of meals to be prepared and generally speaking the same looking after the fire, boiling water or milk, chopping of vegetables, washing of materials and mixing and frying of them; but the Western woman knows that her family will all be sitting ready for the meal at an exact moment, that meal will only take a short time, and that there will be a clear number of hours free for her before she has to start cooking the next meal. In India the lack of united action and the lack of conscience about coming to meals exactly in time leave the poor woman who cooks no time for herself between one meal and another.

When we have paid men cooks we have to give them regular hours of rest, half-holidays and such like, but the poor household ladies who do the cooking where no paid cook is kept are expected to cook from morning to night without grumbling. Why should a wife be treated worse than a servant?

### Women the World over.

The following items are taken from *Stri Dharma*.

Miss Shiu, who graduated from an American University, is proposed for the post of Education Commissioner at Heungshan, Kwangtung Province, and if chosen she will be the first Chinese woman to hold an executive post in her native country.

The women of Japan have won their agitation for the right to attend political meetings and form political associations. The former police law which prohibited such actions was revised at the last session of the Diet and the new law became operative on May 5. The women of India rejoice at this extension of freedom to their Japanese sisters.

The Whyte Commission has recommended that women shall have the vote for the Reformed Legislative Council of Burma. This is very good news.

A woman Engineer has set up in business for herself in Exeter and has already installed one lighting set for a country house.

In Danzig, the Diet has passed, by 58 votes to 27, a Bill making women eligible as Judges on the same terms as men.

By 41 votes to 36, the Dutch Second Chamber has passed a law permitting women to become Judges of the Dutch Courts.

The State Parliament of Tasmania having recently passed a Bill giving women the right to sit in Parliament, two candidates, one Labour (the wife of the Leader of the Labour Party) and one Independent, have already announced themselves for the general election.

### Should Indian Boys Go to Europe for Study.

We read in the *Bharda New High School Quarterly*:

"I would like to send my sons to England to complete their school education in a public school," I said one day to Mr. Bharda of beloved memory.

"By all means, if you don't mind losing them to yourself and your country," was the laconic and caustic reply.

"What makes you say so?" I asked in astonishment.

"My long experience," he replied, greatly agitated. "I have scarcely known a lad sent to Europe at a tender age return to India and embark on any useful career, whereas I know several who have either come to grief or deserted their families and their country,—tragedies that will make you shed tears."

"Well, then," said I in a lighter vein, although I knew he was in dead earnest, "I had better give up the idea of going there myself. Being a married man, I cannot afford to be annihilated from my family, let alone the country."

"No, do go," he replied, warming up once more. "Take your wife and children also. See things for yourself and come and tell me whether you agree with me or not that the best time for our boys to go to Europe for study or for business is after the critical period of adolescence after graduation."

I went, I saw, I surrendered. Bharda, our unflinching guide, was right. I discussed the question with some of the boys who had grown up, and married and settled in England, and they also confirmed his opinion.

I fear this *obiter dictum* of our departed *Gooroo* will perhaps turn down the scheme of some youths eager to cross the seas. They or their parents will naturally demand the reasons for it and concrete cases to support it. I regret I cannot satisfy their curiosity in this column but shall be glad to do so if I am asked in private.

RUSTOM P. MASANI.

### The Co-operative Movement in England.

Mr. Albert J. Saunders writes in the *Mysore Economic Journal*:

It was in 1844 that the real founding of the movement took place. A little group of workers at Rochdale, just close to Manchester, desiring to improve the social condition of themselves and their community resolved to start a co-operative society. There were twenty-eight of them, and their total capital amount only to



£ 28. They have ever since been known as the "Rochdale Pioneers."

What are the latest figures for the movement?

The Census figures of 1920 report the co-operative membership in Great Britain as follows:—

MEMBERSHIP OF CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES.			
	1921	• 1911	
England and Wales	3,879,146	2,342,484	
Scotland	680,165	418,047	
Great Britain	4,559,311	2,760,531	

Now, to arrive at the full strength of co-operation in Great Britain one must multiply the above total by 4 or 5, as every member probably represents a family of several persons. That will give a grand total of not less than 18,000,000 co-operators out of a total population of 42,767,530, or one person in every three in Great Britain is a co-operator, and this really astonishing growth has been experienced in the short period of 76 years.

The movement began with a retail store.

But other departments were soon added. First came Producers' Co-operative Societies; then the Co-operative Wholesale Society; and then Foreign Trading, Shipping and Banking. It was an eye-opening experience to visit the palatial central premises of the Co-operative Wholesale Society in Manchester. That great organization owns: Flour Mills, Food factories, Boot works, Textile Mills, Soap works, Printing works, Clothing factories, Farm and fruit lands, Coal Mines, Tea plantations, Motor works, Steam-ships, etc. From such a small beginning, see what a mighty movement has come to spread its influence for good.

### Transport Facilities in U. S. A.

We read in the same journal:

The United States is making rapid advance in its transportation facilities—and now, as a somewhat natural evolution, comes the utilization of the motor as an adjunct, or auxiliary to the steam-power railways.

In India, too, transport facilities of all kinds by land, water, and air should be fully developed. But it is only railways that receive attention. Highways are quite inadequate, waterways are neglected, and aviation is almost unborn.

### Broad-based and Top-heavy Educational System.

In the United States of America education is broad-based, not top-heavy, as the following figures taken by the *Mysore Economic Journal* from the *Educator Journal* of Indianapolis, will show:

Of the total school enrolment of the United States 91.41 per cent is in elementary schools 6.82 per cent in high schools, and 1.77 per cent in higher institutions.

The results of education will appear from the following figures:—

Of the 10,000 persons in Who's Who in America, 39 had no schooling, 1,008 had common school training, 1,545 attending high school, and more than 6,000 were college graduates, or attended college. Less than one per cent of the American men, past and present, are college graduates. Yet 55 per cent of the presidents of the United States came out of that number. 36 per cent of the members of Congress, 47 per cent of the Speakers of the House, 54 per cent of the Vice-Presidents, 62 per cent of the Secretaries of State, 69 per cent of the Supreme Court judges. Out of 5,000,000 American men with no schooling, 31 have attained distinction according to Who's Who. Out of 33,000,000 with elementary school training, 808 have attained distinction. Out of 2,000,000 with high school training 1425 have attained distinction. But with only 1,000,000 with a college education, 6,000 have attained distinction.

### Uses of Coconut Shells.

The *Mysore Economic Journal* writes:

Cocoanut shells are found in abundance in the copra-producing areas of India and Ceylon. A large quantity of this is wasted. Four tons of shell produce a ton of charcoal. It is true that the export of the cocoanut shell charcoal is increasing. But some portion of the shells is used for fuel locally. A small percentage is used for carving works, such as lamps, cups and saucers, spoons, etc. Most of the rubber estates use the holeless half for latex collection. Experiments recently made have found that the shell can yield a valuable tar, non-corrosive antiseptic, and an excellent vegetable substitute for acetic-acid-creosote. It is said that rubber regulated with this creosote will require no smoking—it need only be dried in the open air, and will yield a pure white material, which stands against climatic changes much better than material treated with acetic acid. A heating chamber, a condenser or cooler, and a dis-



timery, the necessary machinery, which could be worked by five coolies are estimated to cost about Rs. 12,000. The shell packed inside the heating chamber is heated to a very high temperature from outside and the creosote thus obtained is then dealt with within two other machines. A ton of shell will yield about 150 gallons of creosote at a cost of about Rs. 2 per gallon, a very great saving over acetic acid. The distilling over, the shell will serve as an inexpensive, non-smoking, first-rate fuel for running the many gas engines all over the country, which now consume coal and coke.

### Buddhist Shrines in India.

The *Maha-bodhi and the Buddhist World* for June contains a large amount of interesting reading, under different heads, relating to Buddhist shrines and antiquities. We quote one passage :

Kapilavastu is in the hands of non-Buddhists; Buddha Gaya is in the hand of a Saivite land-owner, an enemy of Buddhists; Kusinara is in charge of an Arakanese Buddhist monk, who lives alone in that distant place, 24 miles from the city of Gorakhpur. In India, the land of the Buddhas, her children know more of Allah, Muhammad, Jesus, Moses, Daniel, than of the Great Lord Buddha, who made the greatest historic renunciation for the welfare of the millions. India lost two precious gems a thousand years ago—her independence and her national religion. For a thousand years her children have continued to decline without the elevating Dharma, which brings happiness to all living beings.

### "What are the Tamils Doing?"

The reply of "Vivius" in *Everyman's Review* for June is:—

Nothing for their language or literature: nothing for their nationality or race; nothing for their country: and nothing for their regeneration or rise!

He means by Tamils all those peoples whose mother-tongue today is Tamil. The reason why he thinks the Tamils should make a combined effort for their regeneration is thus dwelt upon:—

Language is the greatest and most patent of unifying forces. In the civilised world at the present day it is certainly the basis of national being or reconstruction. It is further showing an ever-increasing tendency to become more and more the principle of national cementing, if not also of national segregations.

It is quite true we are all aspiring towards and talking about one Indian nation, without distinction of creed or caste, language or ideals, comprising all the native peoples of this vast continent of India and welded together perhaps by the political oppression of a foreign government. But granted such a political nationality, what is there in its scope or essence to exclude subordinate nationalities on a linguistic basis?

After all it may turn out, that we have been too prone to attach too much importance to political unity, which, more often than not means merely common political subordination. And after all it may be that there are really in the world no rigidly exclusive bodies of men but that the human race is from time to time merely intersected by various circles, sometimes shifting and often expanding or dwindling and in most cases overlapping each other.

The plea, therefore, for the promotion of Tamil nationality is scarcely inconsistent with the idea of an Indian nationality.

I take it there are about fifty millions of Tamil-speaking peoples in South India and Ceylon. It may no doubt be asked whether the mere fact of their speaking the same language is sufficient to warrant their exclusive formation into a separate nationality. It has been doubted whether there can be thought without language but it cannot be doubted that language and thought are the soul and body of our higher being. In our own land and surrounded everywhere by men and women speaking the same language we are not apt to appreciate the importance and influence of a common mother-tongue. When cast in a far-off foreign land, living amidst a babel of foreign tongues, it is with a thrill that we approach one whom we may discover suddenly and by accident as a linguistic brother speaking our own mother-tongue. On such occasions one is prompted to forget rank, caste and all and embrace him as if he were a long lost brother. It is because we have taken language too much for granted that we forget to attach to it sufficient value, or accord to it its proper place in the factors of unification.

### "Journal of Indian History."

"*Journal of Indian History*" for February, 1922, contains nearly two hundred pages of interesting and instructive reading. We will make a few extracts from different articles.

### *Life and Work of Nanak.*

Guru Nanak, the founder of Sikhism, was born in 1469 A.D. and died in 1538 at the advan-



ced age of seventy. Nanak spent about a quarter of a century in travelling and itinerant preaching through the whole length and breadth of India. He is also believed to have visited some places outside India, such as Mecca, Medina, and Persia. Eventually Nanak settled at Kartarpur—a village founded by himself. Here he built a *dharmasala* (Sikh chapel) and continued, to the end of his life, to teach the crowds of people who now flocked to him from various parts of the Punjab.

Nanak's mission of life was the purification of Hindu religion and the reformation of Hindu society. The society was mostly priest-ridden, and the popular Hindu religion in the days of Nanak was confined to the observance of mere formalities, rituals, and ceremonies. He asserted most emphatically that the *Brahmins* and the *Mullahs*, who followed religion as a profession, were not the true guides to truth, that they were like blind men leading the blind and that salvation lay only in devoting oneself to the service of God.

Nanak further declared that truth was greater than all pilgrimages and that the love of God was better than all religious rites and ceremonies. In fact, he taught the people that the only way to salvation lay through *bhakti*, or devotion to God combined with good actions.

### *Importance of the Vijayanagar Empire.*

From the time of its foundation about A.D. 1336, Vijayanagar became the rallying point of the Hindus of South India, and it afforded necessary protection to their life, religion, and property, till its break up in A.D. 1565.

Hence a study of the origin, growth, and development of this Empire—an Empire which could hold its own against the Mohammadans for more than two centuries, which has been declared by a succession of contemporary travellers to have been marvellous for its extent and prosperity, which had great influence on the fortunes of the Portuguese power in India, which has left permanent marks on the orthodoxy of the southern Hindus even to this day, and whose great literary and archaeological monuments are to be found scattered all over Southern India—cannot but be interesting to a student of history. But unfortunately there does not exist a single comprehensive work dealing with the subject.

As to how its history can be written, we read :

The difficulties arising from the destruction of the official records and the scarcity of contemporary native authorities, on the subject have been greatly neutralised by the epigraphical and other sources. Broadly speaking the materials available for the construction of an exhaustive history of the Empire can be grouped into five classes, viz.,—

1. Archaeological (monuments, coins, and inscriptions)

2. Literary
3. Notices by foreigners
4. Later Indian and European works
5. Miscellaneous.

### *Mughal Government.*

About news-recorders and spies, we learn :—

Over the vast hierarchy of executive, judicial and fiscal officers, the emperor watched through the numberless eyes of news-recorders and secret spies. Espionage has a bad odour about it, but few Governments, specially in times of danger—and mediæval States always had some danger from some quarter to apprehend—have been able to dispense with it. The Hindu lawgivers recognize the fact by recommending an extensive staff of secret service men. As early as the thirteenth century, Ala-ud-din Khilji had raised or degraded espionage to a science and a fine art. The Mughals adapted and modified the system. They maintained two classes of agents—one open, called *Waqiahnawis* or news-recorders; the other, secret. The latter generally busied themselves with Government servants, while the former transmitted news of every conceivable description. If their documents had escaped the ravages of time, it would have been possible to write the history of mediæval India with a degree of fulness such as the annals of no country and no age could have matched. From the extracts and summaries preserved by Jahangir, Motamad Khan, and others, it is clear that they sent periodical reports of all that they saw and heard. It is a tribute to the efficiency of the intelligence department that Hawkins as he proceeded to complain of his ill-treatment at Surat, was surprised to learn that the Emperor Jahangir had already received a detailed report of the matter and taken the first steps towards justice.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer has not been punished. But see how under the earlier Mughal emperors tyrannical Governors were dealt with.

Governors who appeared from the reports of news-recorders or from any secret reports to be abusing their power and authority, were promptly recalled, censured, disgraced, or severely punished. There must have been a great deal of oppression which never reached the ear of the emperor, but neither Akbar nor Jahangir ever countenanced the least oppression of their subjects and always took prompt measures to terminate and punish any rapacious or cruel course of conduct on the part of their officers. Said Khan, when appointed Governor of the Punjab by Jahangir immediately after his accession, was plainly warned that if his notorious eunuchs tyrannized over the people, his justice would not put up with oppression from any one, and that in the scales of equity neither smallness nor greatness was



regarded. If after this any cruelty or harshness should be observed on the part of his people, he would receive punishment without favour.' The emperor's favourite, Muqarrab Khan, was punished with the reduction of his mansab by half for an individual act of cruelty.

Mirza Rustam, governor of Thatta, who embarked on a course of tyranny over the people, was promptly recalled, disgraced, and handed over to Anir Rai Singh Dalan, the great gaoler of State prisoners, to be punished in an exemplary way, after an investigation into his case. Sometime after, however, the Mirza repented and apologized and was pardoned—after undergoing a thorough humiliation. Chin Qulich Khan, the tyrant of Jawnpore, was likewise recalled and would have been suitably punished if he had not died on the way. An inquiry was instituted into the case of Raja Kalyan, of whom certain unpleasant stories had been heard, but his innocence was clearly proved and he was acquitted. Abdullah Khan Firoz Jang, Governor of Gujerat, one of the valiant soldiers of the empire, a favourite of the powerful Shah Jahan, was recalled, and had to undergo the uttermost humiliation and to seek the good offices of his patron, to secure pardon. Shah Jahan himself, when at the height of his influence, received a most severe reprimand, which made the whole court tremble for allowing his subordinate, the governor of Surat, to oppress English traders. Numerous similar instances occurred. "If," wrote Hawkins, "complaints of injustice which they (the local Governors) do, be made to the King, it is well if they escape with the loss of their lands. Justice, indeed, was one of the strong points of Jahangir. He sentenced an influential man, accused of murder, to death. 'God forbid,' he writes, 'that in such affairs I should consider princes, and far less that I should consider Amirs'."

As regards famine relief it is stated :

Thanks to the difficulties of transport, mediaeval famines were restricted in area but intense in suffering. Indian historians and foreign travellers alike paint a ghastly picture

of the hunger and mortality that raged wild over the stricken region. The State did something to relieve the misery. Besides remissions of revenue, it distributed large sums of money, opened relief works, encouraged recruitment to the army, and established free soup-kitchens and alms-houses.

### Search for Historical Manuscripts in Indian Libraries.

Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, University Professor of Modern Indian History, Allahabad, has published the reports of himself and his staff of the search for historical manuscripts in Indian Libraries. Lists of old paintings have also been given. The following libraries were visited :—

Library of Lala Sri Ram, M. A., at Delhi ;  
Library of H. H. the Maharaja of Alwar ;  
Two fine libraries at Hyderabad ;  
The Asiatic Society's Library in Calcutta ;  
The Buhar collection in the Imperial

Library ;

St. Xavier's College Library, Calcutta ;  
The Oriental Library of Bankipore ;  
Rampur State Library ;  
Library of the Muslim University, Aligarh ;  
Library of the Kashi Nagari Pracharini

Sabha, Benares ;

Ramnagar Library of H. H. the Maharaja of Benares ;

The Chhatarpur Library, the Madras Libraries, viz., the Connewara Public Library, the University Library, the Telugu Academy, the Literary Society Library, the Secretariat Library, the Assistant Epigraphist's Office, and the Government Oriental MSS. Library.

### FOREIGN PERIODICALS

#### Social Movements in Tokyo.

Many people think of Japan mainly as a country of fighters and industrial leaders and workers. But like other civilised countries she is noted for her philanthropic activities, too. For instance, take the social movements

in Tokyo alone, as described in the *Japan Magazine*. They are :—

#### THE CENTRAL BENEVOLENT ASSOCIATION.

The Society's chief endeavor is to co-ordinate benevolent activities and establish organs for proper investigation detailed thus :—



1.—Co-ordination of organisations concerned in philanthropic relief work.

2.—Co-operation of organisations and of individuals working philanthropically.

3.—Directions and suggestions for successful co-operation, also adequate support of administrative agencies.

4.—Investigation—At home and abroad.

5.—Cultivation of Public Interest, by the publication of periodicals, the holding of conferences, lecture meetings and by other methods of circulating information.

#### TOKYO PREFECTURAL CHARITY ASSOCIATION (INCORPORATED).

The work of this Association includes ;—

1.—The union of charitable enterprises.

2.—An organ for investigation.

3.—The encouragement and support of social work: a periodical, "Tokyofu Jizen Kyokai Kaiho" (Tokyo Benevolent Association Report) is issued now and then.

4.—The improvement and increase of effort in the slum section.

5.—Training of staff, i. e., the selection of those desiring to devote themselves to relief work, also the provision of a special course of study which at present is available at either Waseda University, the Buddhist Theological College, or the Tokyo Women's College.

6.—Assistance for relief organizations through committees.

From the following account one is able to gather the kind of effort that is being made on behalf of the workingman.

Since September, 1909, special places, called Musashiya or rice-shops, have been opened, in order to make it possible to obtain the daily necessities of life at a reasonable sum.

One Musashiya supplies meals at a cost of about 10 sen per meal, and daily accommodates about 500 people; here also any requests or inquiries are sympathetically and capably dealt with.

A public-benefit pawn-broker has been provided, and a manager appointed to run the business with special privileges for the working-class.

A public bath-house has been provided for the use of those in the vicinity, at a cost of 2,387 yen. The charge for adults is 2 sen, for children 1 sen, and in the city the fee is 6 sen adults, 3 sen children.

THE FOUNDATION FOR RENDERING LEGAL AID was established in the Department of Justice in Kojimachi Ward. Its presidency is always occupied by the Vice-Minister of Justice, and it has been organized for the protection and assistance of those discharged from prisons, in any part of the country, and it is maintained by the foundation fund, interest and subsidy, the present capital being over 850,000 yen.

#### THE TOKYO DAILY NECESSITIES ASSOCIATION (INCORPORATED)

was established within the premises of Tokyo urban-prefectural government. Fifty public market-places have been provided within Tokyo City, in each of which the individual producers or organisations of producers, or specially appointed merchants, are under agreement to sell 400 in Public Domain Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar commodities at reasonable prices.

#### TOKYO CITY PUBLIC MARKET.

The Lord Mayor of Tokyo led this movement and some merchants agreed to sell daily necessities at low prices, and officials are sent to oversee.

#### SIMPLE LIFE SOCIETY.

Soon after the riots which occurred on account of the sudden rise in the price of rice, the leading residents of Kanda resolved to relieve the working-class of the high rate of food-stuffs, and found it possible to do so through this organ, which charged 10 sen per meal, and to-day accommodates an average of 2,000 people per day.

#### TOKYO PEOPLE'S RESTAURANTS.

There are two of these places, in order to provide citizens of the lower classes with simple and good meals, in convenient style and at suitable hours.

#### FREE LODGING HOUSES.

The object is to give free lodging and protection, and to assist with children.

THE JODO SECT LABORERS' MUTUAL AID SOCIETY. Its main object includes lodging, relief work, and employment agencies.

#### THE SALVATION ARMY FREE LODGING HOUSE, ASAKUSA.

This is in Asakusa Ward, and its objects are similar to those described above.

THE TSUKISHIMA LABORERS' DORMITORY is another lodging house.

#### TOKYO EMPLOYMENT AGENCY.

There are three places in the City.

Besides working an Employment Agency, it runs a lodging house for laborers, and a workhouse for the unemployed.

#### LABORERS' ENDEAVOR SOCIETY (LEGALLY INCORPORATED.)

Its object is to work an agency for the use of proletarians in the neighborhood, and to relieve those in poor circumstances.

## A Quest for a Perfect Educational System.

*The Japan Advertiser*, quoted by the *Japan Magazine*, states that

Mr. and Mrs. Sven V. Knudsen are on a tour of the world engaged in investigating educational methods in use in different nations. To aid them in their work and to make possible investigation at firsthand they decided to travel overland. They have come to Japan from Denmark via America where they made a continental tour before crossing the Pacific.

#### Who is Mr Knudsen ?

He is assistant headmaster of the State School of Copenhagen, Denmark, and one of the leading educators of Denmark and is prominent there as a writer and student of the activities of boys from the time they begin in their school life until they graduate from college. He is taking a leading part in the Boy Scout



improvement and is now on his way around the world gathering material for a book which he plans to write which will deal with the activities of boys of every country and will be called "Boys the World Over."

In speaking of the purpose of his work and what he hopes to gain from his tour Mr. Knudsen said :—

It is the purpose of the school authorities and Government officials of Denmark to gather from all over the world intimate knowledge of educational methods which are in use and to choose from these many and widely different practices the best and most efficient points as proved by actual usage and make them a part of the educational methods of Denmark.

"Denmark is a small country and has a dense population," he said. "She is not a rich country, either in money or natural resources. If the people of that land are to make something of themselves and increase the efficiency of the State as a whole they will have to do it through education, and every person there will have to provide himself with a much better than the average education in order to overcome the handicaps under which they are placed by inevitable conditions. We think we have one of the best educational systems in the world to-day, but we are continually striving to perfect it and in return for what we learn from other nations of the earth we are willing to give to them the benefit of our experiences if any desire to send representatives to study our methods or students to study in our schools. We are doing this to-day with several countries, and our students are becoming acquainted with the habits and customs of other lands from which they will choose the best points and bring them back for the benefit of their home country. The foreign students in our schools are being afforded the opportunity to do the same thing if they are so inclined."

There should be some Indian educators who are willing and able to do what Mr. Knudsen has been doing.

### Has Non-co-operation Failed?

There are some Indian Nationalists in America who are for gaining independence by force of arms. It is probably with reference to them that the New York *New Republic* has written :—

The comment most generally made by Indian Nationalists on the arrest of M. K. Gandhi seems to be this: that the method of Non-co-operation has now been given a fair trial; that the British government refuses to allow its continuance, and that, as a consequence, the Indian people are now forced to take the road of violent resistance. The substantive statement, it appears to us, and the inference, are alike illusory. Less than three years have passed since Mr. Gandhi, his dwindling faith in England shattered by the guns of Brigadier-General Dyer at Amritsar, announced the full program of Non-co-operation. The notion that, among the myriads of India, a program such as that could be given an adequate

trial in so brief a time is surely absurd. And those Indians, who, now that Mr. Gandhi is in jail, find themselves tempted to repudiate his doctrine, should give heed to their leader's warning. He has said repeatedly that if Non-co-operation turns to violence India will never attain her freedom. The present in India is extraordinarily dark and confused. But about the immediate future one thing seems to be beyond question. The Indian Nationalists, having been carried thus far by the power of an idea, embodied in a unique personality, will win or lose in this conflict with the Government of India, according as they prove themselves able or not to persevere in the application of the Gandhi doctrine.

### Influence of Imaginative Literature.

Olive Beaupre Miller expresses the opinion in *Child-Welfare Magazine* that there are stories and stories, and nothing matters much more than which story a boy reads.

He may know all the scientific facts in the universe, may know the Encyclopedia Britannica backwards and forwards, and still never have perceived that selfishness, dishonesty, cunning, cruelty, weakness, narrowness of vision, inability to see from any other stand-point than his own, are evil qualities which he does not wish to possess and that courage and faith, strength and perseverance, patience, honesty, loyalty, breadth of vision are qualities which are splendid and admirable, which he does wish to possess.

In the settling of those great problems which have been stirred to the surface in the restless world of today and are facing the rising generation, problems needing greater wisdom and breadth of view for their solution than have ever faced the world before, is it going to be of more importance to know that the Battle of Hastings was fought in the year 1066 or to have innately and unconsciously acquired a love of justice and truth, and admiration for the big and unselfish view-point, the well-balanced and far-reaching wisdom?

I am not belittling scientific reading; it is absolutely necessary, and many a finely written history or biography may, and often does, accomplish the same thing as fiction, but I am bringing out as clearly as possible that the value of the best fiction has been much under-rated and that because it has been under-rated, the best and most intelligent use has not been made of it in the child's development. The best fiction certainly will mould your child's ideals and standards, his views of life, his judgments on life, as surely as it widens his mental horizon, shows him other points of view than his own, quickens his imagination and his joyous appreciation of beauty, livens his sense of humor, deepens his emotions, and at every turn fires his spirit into life.

By the best fiction the writer does not at all refer to books with a moral.

I merely mean that all truly great literature worthy of the name has expressed quite unself-consciously men's natural love and admiration for



what is truly great and good and their natural perception of the ugliness of what is evil and false and that this point of view, so inestimably valuable, is all unconsciously absorbed by the child; the very spirit of the work communicates itself to his spirit if the selections made for his reading are wise.

As regards fairy tales,

we need to weed out the weird and sensational, the unwholesome and morbid, and leave the pure and beautiful fancies, the vigorous flourishing strength, the splendid unselfconscious simplicity. There are many, many bad fairy tales and no one phase of your child's reading needs more careful supervision than his fairy tales.

I should never give a young child a whole volume of Grimm or Dasent or Asbjornsen, Jacobs or any other literary collection of folk tales. They contain many horrible stories. If the child is to have these books whole at any time, let it be when he is older, say in the fifth or sixth grades, can read them without fear and has some ability within himself to refuse and throw off the evil that is there.

### "The Lamp of Judgment."

Continuing his series of articles on the Seven Lamps of Advocacy, Judge Parry writes on the Lamp of Judgment in the June number of *Chambers's Journal*:

Let no one think that he can attain to sound judgment without hard work. The judgment of the advocate must be based on the maxim, 'He that judges without informing himself to the utmost that he is capable cannot acquit himself of judging amiss.'

A client is entitled to the independent judgment of the advocate. Whether his judgment is right or wrong, it is the duty of the advocate to place it at the disposal of his client. In the business of advocacy judgment is the goods that the advocate is bound to deliver. Yet he is under constant temptation to please his client by giving him an inferior article. The duty of the advocate to give only his best is wisely insisted upon by Serjeant Ballantine,

The writer holds:

In nothing does the advocate more openly exhibit want of judgment than in prolixity. Modern courts of justice are blamed by the public, not wholly without cause, for the length and consequent expense of trials. To poor people this may mean a denial of justice.

"Sound judgment is essential to the examination of witnesses. How few advocates know how to examine a witness-in-chief!" "Cross-examination, too, is almost entirely a matter of judgment."

Two golden rules handed down from the eighteenth century, and may be from beyond, are still unlearned lessons to each succeeding generation of advocates:

1. Never ask a question without having a good reason to assign for asking it.
2. Never hazard a critical question without having

good ground to believe that the answer will be in your favour.

Brow-beating is always a dangerous policy; it antagonises the jury and leads to reprisals. There is an old story of the counsel in an assault case who asked the witness at what distance from the parties he was at the time of the assault. Not content with the reply of 'A few feet,' but pressing for greater accuracy, he was answered by the witness: 'Just four feet five and a half inches.'

'How do you come to be so very exact, fellow?' asked counsel sternly.

'Because I expected some fool or other would ask me, so I measured it.'

### "The Spiritual Outlook for Western Civilization."

It is true that the East evolved an ideal of civilisation different from the concrete reality called Western civilization. But while the Eastern ideal is undoubtedly more spiritual than material, more other-worldly than secular, it is self-delusion to think that we present-day orientals are more spiritual than occidentals. The Eastern ideal (in which the really Christian ideal is included) is a spiritual ideal, but the lives that we orientals lead are not embodiments of the ideal. The real truth is that we are languid, inert, lifeless; and that is why we pursue our pleasures, profits and hostilities languidly, and mistake that languidness for spirituality.

With these prefatory remarks we proceed to give some idea of the spiritual renaissance which, according to Mr. Glenn Frank, editor of *The Century Magazine*, has already dawned on the world. He prophesies:—

The next twenty-five years will be challenging years to the man who has any sense of intellectual and spiritual adventure, for they will mark a turning point in human history.

From before the war, the West was in the grip of materialism.

For more than the lifetime of most of us the chill winds of materialism have been blowing across Western civilization. Its spiritual fires have been banked, if not burned out.

The civilization that preceded and precipitated the war was at best a thinly veneered barbarism that was slowly consuming the life of the race in the poverties of peace no less than in the perils of war. Pagan ideals of power and pleasure had spread their nets anew for the capture of our souls. Power was the goal of the state; pleasure was the goal of the people. Political life had become paganized by its passion for power at any price; business life had become paganized by its scramble for profits at any price; and social life had become paganized by its devotion to pleasure at any price. In this reluctant indictment little, if any,



discrimination can be made between allied, enemy, and neutral peoples. We were all guilty of the sin of surrender to pagan ideals. We practised paganism while we professed Christianity. All of Western civilization was thus a sort of corporate hypocrisy.

This corporate hypocrisy these pagan ideals, caused the War.

The verdict of history will be that Germany caused the war, but for a deeper reason than propagandists or politicians have yet guessed. The pagan program of self-interest, material satisfaction, and brute force was dominating all Western civilization before the War. This program simply came to a head in Germany first. Germany caused the war because Germany led in repaganizing the world. Germany caused the war not because she alone had sinned, but because she sinned more perfectly than the rest of us. The basic paganism of politics, of business, and of social life that the rest of the world denounced and practised, Germany openly adopted as her creed and practised.

During and after the War,

It was everywhere predicted that the most ruthless war of history would result in the spiritual regeneration of Western civilization. But this colossal paradox was not to come true. After Versailles the search for the Holy Grail of a new world degenerated into a sordid struggle for existence, with little thought of the quality of that existence.

And so men are again speculating upon the possible breakdown of Western civilization.

Mr. Glenn Frank thinks otherwise.

Personally, I believe that we are in the morning hours of such a renaissance. I believe that the raw materials for such a renaissance are lying all about us, waiting only for some truly great spiritual leader to bring them together and to touch them into life.

He makes clear what are *not* the grounds of this hope.

I am not reviving the exploded notion that the war stimulated in the soldiers a spirituality that will be the basis of a religious revival. I do not believe that war ever ministers to spirituality. Much of the apparent spirituality of men under fire is a mere scurrying to cover under the lash of fear, an attempt, as H. G. Wells phrased it, "to use God as a gas mask." The spiritual renaissance that will redeem Western civilization will not spring from war-stimulated emotions.

I am not resting my faith upon the new mysticism that has swept the world in the wake of the war. I do not believe that the new popularity of mediums and all the current hammering at the gates of the other world have any basically spiritual significance for our time.

In fact, this next great revival of religion will not be a religious revival in the accepted sense of that term. Many of its most striking episodes will not occur in the carpeted aisles of cathedrals or in the sawdust aisles of evangelistic sheds, but in laboratories, in school-rooms, in factories, and at political headquarters. I do not mean to suggest that the church will play no part in this spiritual renaissance. The church should furnish the leadership for this adventure in the depaganizing of Western civilization.

But this would be possible,

When the church has scrapped its ancient vocabulary and begun to talk to the men of this generation in figures of speech they understand; when a ceaseless search for truth has supplanted dogmatism; when the church spends more thought upon its service than upon its services; when denominationalism has been recognized as the twin brother of the nationalism that has plunged the world into its periodic wars; when the church has undertaken the redemption of institutions with as sincere conviction as it has brought to the redemption of persons; when the church adds to its preaching of abstract virtues a continuous moral analysis of modern social, political, and industrial life in order that men may know the new and subtle ways that ancient sins may be committed; when, in short, the church becomes its severest critic and takes the whole of modern life for its field, it will be on the way toward effective leadership in the depaganizing of Western civilization.

Mr. Frank concludes his article thus:

The renaissance of which I write, however, will not be essentially a church movement. Its prophets will not thrill the world with any new doctrine. Their service will consist rather of the bringing together in a new synthesis the new idealisms that have been springing up as a by-product of the "secular" thought and investigation of creative-minded scientists, educators, industrialists, and statesmen. This spiritual renaissance will not mean the imposition of an alien idealism upon the secular activities of mankind, but will consist rather of what, for want of a better phrase, I shall call the recovery of the lost spirituality of public affairs.

The John Wesley of this moral renewal, perhaps, will not appear in surplice or gown. The man who lights the fires of this renaissance may be a statesman. When the partizanship of our time—sorry product of small minds—has had time to die, some man may arise who will lead the world past the bogies of covenants, entangling alliances, and sovereignties into a creative internationalism that will be the rallying-point not only for the political, but for the social and spiritual, hopes of mankind. The leader may be an educator who will transform the sterilities of scholarship into the creative adventure of helping students to make themselves at home in the modern world, of giving them standards of civilized values, of equipping them with hopes as well as with habits. Again this new reformation may find its Luther in some biologist who will rid eugenics of its barn-yard and stock-farm implications, and put behind it a racial conscience that men will recognize as a logical development from the individual and social consciences that have preceded it.

At any rate, whatever may be the point of departure for this renaissance, it will draw its power from two sources—science and religion. As Dean Inge has put it, "The spiritual integration of society which we desire and behold afar off, must be illuminated by the dry light of science, and warmed by the rays of idealism, a white light but not cold. And idealism must be compacted as a religion, for it is the function of religion to prevent the fruits of flowering-times of the spirit from being lost."



## A Japanese Women's "Ultimatum to the Men!"

*The Woman Citizen* tells its readers :

A poster displayed at the main entrance of a well-known girls' school at Tokyo was termed by the Japanese press an ultimatum to the men. The poster listed ten very modest requests formulated by a Japanese wife to her liege lord :

Please get up at the same time I do.

Please do not scold me in the presence of children or of visitors.

When you leave home for long periods, please tell me where you go

Please let me know when you leave home and when you return.

Please grant me the privilege of enjoying a few of my own wishes.

Please give me a fixed sum of money for my own personal use.

Please do not ask the attention of others for things you can very well do yourself. (The "others" is herself.)

Please refrain from doing such things before the children as would set a bad example.

Please allow me some time each day for reading and studying.

Please stop saying "OiKora" (English equivalent : "Hello, you over there") when you call me. I am your wife and deserve respect.

## Sparks from Lady Astor's Sayings.

*The Woman Citizen* has brought together some sayings of Lady Astor, the first woman to sit in the British Parliament. Here are some of them.

The world needs us. A man-ordered world has failed. We should go into all countries and preach this ideal—men and women working together for real peace on earth.

Mercifully we women have no political past.

I can conceive of nothing worse than a man-governed world except a woman-governed world.

Wives come and go, but mothers stay on forever.

In the modern world no nation can get work for all unless it trades with all.

The more you go in for public life the more you lose your home life.

We have not been fair to men. Always in our hearts we've known they are the weaker sex but we've lacked the courage to tell them so.

We get from the men what we ask from the men.

Real women are women who care about real things.

What women will be in politics depends on what they are at heart.

If all that women do is to learn what men have done, the world will be the worse.

## Woman's Scientific Discoveries.

We take the following from *The Woman Citizen* :

The latest scientist to make an important contribution to the health of humanity is a woman—Dr. N. Kritch, director of a hospital laboratory in Moscow. For two years Dr. Kritch has been searching for the typhus germ, and reports that she has isolated it have just been confirmed. Other physicians, it is said, have been partly successful in producing typhus vaccine, but Dr. Kritch is the first to grow and reproduce the germ outside the human body. So far no curative serum has been perfected, but that is likely to follow.

The hospital where the discovery was made had been supplied with equipment by the Americans.

Thirteen papers were entered in competition for the prize of 1,000 dollars annually awarded by the American Association to Aid Scientific Research by Women. This year the prize has been won by an Englishwoman, Dr. Anna Catherine Davies of Royal Holloway College, Englefield Greens, England, her paper being an impressive "Investigation of Critical Electronic Energy Associated with the Excitation of the Spectra Helium." Of the other papers submitted five were from England, one from Australia, one from Russia and five from the United States.

## Tennyson on "a Poet's Life".

In the "Personal Memories of Tennyson," which as a lover of Tennyson we have read with joy, contributed by Mrs. Warre Cornish to the *London Mercury*, occurs the following :

"Why does one want to know about a poet's life? The less you know the better; he gives you his best in his writings. I thank God day and night, that we know so little about Shakespeare."

## A Tennyson Letter.

The following is extracted from the same magazine :

Some time afterward the poet was sending wedding presents to his old friend Brookfield's daughter, and the letter which took her his congratulations is so representative of his talk and of the 'life poetic' which passed into it, that I have obtained leave to print the letter here :—

MY DEAR MAGDALENE,

I have never done anything for you except once as a child I helped you up a ladder; now I send you some of my books, for I hear you are to marry William Ritchie. I am glad that your foot is on the first rung of the ladder the top of which is in Heaven.

Yours sincerely,

ALFRED TENNYSON.

## Cruelty in Congo.

We read in *The Living Age* :

A Congo correspondent of *Le Peuple* reports a very high mortality among the natives of that territory. In certain seasons the annual death rate is 6 per cent



among soldiers and 14 per cent among laborers. The Governor-General recently condemned the treatment of natives by European employers. A rumor is current, though this correspondent does not confirm it by specific data, that the black laborers employed at the Kalo mines are 'treated with a cruelty that surpasses belief. They are forced to work in the water from 6 A.M. until 7 P.M. They are fed only canned goods and this in insufficient quantities.' The shortage of provisions at the mines was attributed by the Governor-General to the lack of fore-sight shown by the natives themselves, who—presumably during their leisure from 7 P.M. to 6 A.M.—'do not cultivate enough and to ensure themselves against shortage in times of drought.' The local authorities complain because the missionaries 'exceed their rights by interfering in controversies between White employers and black laborers.' Missionaries are also charged with giving medical treatment to natives, although they possess no medical knowledge.

It is very bad of some missionaries, wherever they may be, to help the oppressed.

### Cruel Slavery in French Togo.

The same paper writes :—

*Humanite*, under the title, 'Slavery in French Togo', discusses reports from that colony recently ventilated in the French Chamber of Deputies. The author of this article, Felicien Chailaye, who is a writer of distinction and authority, asserts that after a long struggle, due to the opposition of liberal and humanitarian elements in France and the French colonies, a system of forced labor, similar to that which prevailed in the Belgian Congo under King Leopold, has been inaugurated in Togo. A company organized in Paris last year to develop a concession in that colony—two members of the Chamber of Deputies were among the promoters—secured very large grants of land in that region. The contract between these concessioners and the Government contains the following clause (Article VIII, Paragraph 2) :—

"The lessor (the French Commissioner-General of Togo) hereby engages, in the name of the local administration, to furnish upon demand, as he has hitherto, agricultural labor of the class known as *ouvriers cab-raïs* sufficient for operating this grant."

Commenting on this clause the author of the article says :—

"There is no doubt as to its meaning. The Government agreed to send policemen and soldiers to the villages to seize the men that the concessioners needed and to deliver them to the latter as provisional slaves. The fact that these Black workers receive a trifling wage pittance does not change the fact that their labor is forced labor."

It should be added that the colonial authorities were compelled to annul this particular contract.

### Japanese Hypocrisy ?

During the war boom and the post-war boom, Japanese employers imported coolies

and operatives from China and Korea. As there is unemployment now in Japan, there is a disposition to kick them out ; whereupon the *Herald of Asia*, a Japanese paper edited and published by Japanese, observes : .

• Undoubtedly the easy way to meet the situation is to kick the Chinese out ; but, quite aside from the justice or injustice in the individual cases, it must be remembered that the principle involved is extremely far-reaching, and it will be difficult for Japan, when the California question comes to the fore again, as it is likely to do at any time, to gain much credence for sincerity when she condemns America for maintaining a practice which she herself indulges in.

### A German on Hindus & Japanese.

Count Hermann Keyserling observes in his *Diary of a Philosopher Abroad* :

The very profundity of Hindu knowledge has led the nation to ruin. It has made the people soft and feeble. That is most significant. Here again the Hindu becomes a lesson for all humanity. He demonstrates the dangers that threaten a society where all men of intellect are absorbed in philosophical contemplation. That pursuit befits but a small number, who are peculiarly qualified for it ; the others it leads to ruin. More, too : the Hindu belief that the *Rishi*, the *Sanyassi*, the *Yogi*, the mystic saint, whatever name you give him, is above all other men, means something different from what appears at first glance. It does not mean that such men are necessarily the highest type, nor that every individual can attain his highest development by following in their footsteps. It simply means to the Hindu mind that only philosophers and saints attain perfection, and all others perish.

Some of his impressions of Japan are quoted below.

My impressions are becoming more and more clarified. Of one thing I am quite sure : the Japanese or rather those classes in Japan that count politically, are not Orientals in the sense that we use that word when we apply it to the Chinese and to Hindus. They are closer to ourselves than to the Chinese and are thus entitled and predestined to be our rivals. Their apparent kinship with China is due mainly to the civilization they have imported from that country. They are naturally a progressive people, as their recent history proves. In olden times they copied Korea and China, as they are copying Europe and America to-day. Therefore Westernization does not mean in Japan what it means in India or in China.

As our vessel entered the Inland Sea, I was conscious, not without surprise, of penetrating a world entirely new to me, a world separated from that of China by a profound abyss. I found myself enwrapped in an atmosphere like that of the Grecian Archipelago, an atmosphere of mercantile enterprise. I could not catch the slightest trace of the cosmic calm, the majestic peace, that pervades Chinese



civilization. Neither did I discover the Japan that Lafcadio Hearn describes. Undoubtedly it exists. Nevertheless, I can now say with confidence that my first impression was right: the essential traits of the Japanese are enterprise, utilitarianism, and practical aptitude.

Your typical Japanese is not an inventor, but neither is he an imitator, as is commonly reported; he is fundamentally a utilizer in the jujitsu sense.

The Japanese need have no fear of becoming Westernized, although that would be fatal for the Hindu or the Chinese. To adopt Western civilization does not mean a real transformation for the Japanese, but merely a new attitude accommodated to a change of environment.

### Untouchability in its Nakedness.

In his article on "Castes and Customs in Malabar," published in the *Journal of the East India Association*, Mr. H. E. A. Cotton says:

Caste exclusiveness in Malabar manifests itself principally in two respects. Firstly, the touch or approach of a person of a lower class conveys pollution; and secondly, women may contract alliances only with men of an equal or superior caste, whereas men, though for the most part restricted to their caste or class, may in some cases form connections with women of an inferior class. A third test is, of course, interdining, as elsewhere among Hindus; but there is this difference: A high-class Nambudri male may eat the food cooked by a Samanya or "ordinary" Nambudri, and even by a Samantan, but an Anterjanam or Nambudri woman cannot. Similarly, Nayar males can partake of meals prepared by any Nayar without distinction of subcaste; but a Nayar woman of the higher castes cannot eat the food prepared by anyone belonging to a lower. The distinction is observed also among the lower castes.

### Pollution is then explained.

Pollution, as already mentioned, is conveyed either by touch or by approach, and the rules are of the most precise and complicated character. Every man considers himself polluted by the touch of anyone below him in the social scale. But in addition to this, at a certain point in the caste system, the taint is supposed to become so pronounced as actually to affect the atmosphere and carry pollution to persons, houses, and the like within a radius of several yards from the person who is the centre of infection. The radius increases with the fall in the social status. There is, in fact, a prescribed scale of distances which is required to be rigidly observed, and in ordinary conversation such expressions as a Tiya-pad or a Cheruma-pad—the distance at which a Tiyan or Cheruman must keep—are commonly used.

### A footnote tells the reader:

Ideas of a similar character appear to have prevailed in Germany before the French Revolution. (See Fischel and Boehn's "Modes and Manners of the Nineteenth Century," 1799-1817. English edition, 1900.)

vol. i., p. 5.) For instance, a woman of the middle class in Berlin was forced, if she chanced to meet a countess in any public place, to seat herself at least six chairs away from her.

The writer mentions the prescribed scale of distances which the "untouchables" are rigidly required to observe.

Kammalans (artizans) and Illuvans, or Tiyan (toddy drawers), cause atmospheric pollution to the higher castes within a radius of about 10 English feet in the State of Cochin. In Malabar itself, according to Mr. Thurston, a Nayar may not approach nearer than 6 paces to a Nambudri, a man of the barber caste (Marayan) nearer than 12 paces, a Tiyan 36, a sorcerer or exorcist (Panam) 64, and a Pulayan or Cheruman (slave) 96. The "Malabar Gazetteer" give the distance in the case of a Kammalan (artizan) as about 24 feet, and in the case of an aboriginal Nayar as 74. Nayars are as punctilious as Nambudris. The mere approach anywhere near a Nayar or a Cheruman or Pulayan or any inferior being, even a Tiyan, as he walks home from the temple, cleansed in body and mind, his marks newly set on his forehead with sandalwood paste, is pollution and he must turn and bathe again before he can enter his house and eat. In the older days (according to Buchanan Hamilton) a Nayar thought nothing of cutting down on the spot any low-caste man who approached within polluting distance of his person. At the present day the higher caste man, as he walks along the road, utters a warning grunt or hoot. In the words of van Linschoten, who made a "Voyage in the East Indies" at the close of the sixteenth century, "as these Nayres go in the streets, they cry, 'Po, Po,' which is to say, 'Take heed, I come, stand out of the way.'" Three centuries later, Swami Vivekananda came, in the course of his wanderings, to Malabar. There, he says, he met Brahmans and Nayars strutting through the streets like peacocks, making a deafening sound, "Hoi, hoi." What is the meaning of this word? he asks. It means "clear out of the road," and he is provoked to exclaim that Malabar is the lunatic asylum of the world. Certainly it comes as a shock to see the Nayadis—*infima et pessimia gens*—who are professional beggars, depositing a cloth in the middle of the road and squatting in the fields outside the prescribed radius, whence, from time to time, they shout dismally to attract the attention of passers-by who may, if they wish, drop a coin on the cloth. Even among the Cherumans, who are equally beyond the pale, the lowest group, known as Kundons, is considered to convey pollution by touch to members of all other groups by reason of the fact that the Kundottis, or women of the sub-caste, act as midwives. If pollution is caused, whether physical or atmospheric, it can be removed only by complete immersion in water, either in a tank or a river. Strangely enough, atmospheric pollution is not conveyed by Jews, Christians, or Mohammedans; and this applies even to converts to the two latter religions from the very lowest castes. As Mr. R. S. Whiteway puts it, in his book on "The Rise of the Portuguese Power in India," a Pulayan (whom he calls a "Poler") who could not approach within 100 yards of a Nambudri, and has to howl like a wild beast as he walks to warn all others of his polluted vicinity, "has everything to gain, there-



fore, by adopting a faith which admits at once to social equality.

### The Note That Led To Mr. Montagu's Resignation.

*The Nation* of New York writes :—

Gandhi has been arrested. The British Raj has answered the old question "What shall we do with our saints and prophets?" in the orthodox way of governments. Such is the end of a policy which has illustrated once more the futility of a belated and hesitant liberalism in time of crisis. That policy was an inept compound of concession and repression and its guiding principle was: Divide and govern. We credit both Mr. Montagu and Lord Reading with liberal intentions.... Finally as a last desperate measure came the Indian Government's note urging the adoption of uncompromising Moslem demands for the restoration of the Turkish Empire.

The immediate effect of the publication of the note was the enforced resignation of Mr. Montagu, a political tempest in England, and the arrest of Gandhi in India as token of the definite adoption of the policy of the iron hand. The Viceroy's note which Mr. Montagu made public bears unanswerable testimony to the extent and power of the Nationalist movement. To disrupt it by buying off Moslem adherence to the national cause was the sole reason

for the Government's unprecedented act. English opposition frustrated the payment of the bribe to the Moslem; it did not frustrate the arrest of the one man whose teaching has heretofore prevented violent revolt. When an alien government arrests a national hero who, its own apologists admit, is the most saintly figure in the modern world, no further proof is required that it rests its case on naked force.

The defence of the action of the Government is examined in the following paragraph :—

Even so, the protagonists of imperialism, English and American, assure us that there was no other course open to the Government. However clouded England's title, she and she alone, it is asserted, protects India from external invasion and internal chaos and strife. She has brought justice and modern civilization to a country where they could not exist but for her strong arm. The argument is not convincing; it clearly overstates both the evil conditions prior to the British conquest and the blessings of British rule. It attributes material progress solely to alien rule rather than to the general march of science which has coincided with the period of British dominance. At best the imperialist case smacks too much of the argument of the burglar who would justify his continued occupation of another man's house by saying: "I keep order in the household and I keep other burglars out." The Indians are willing to take the risk of doing that for themselves.

### NOTES

#### Satyendranath Datta.

Bengal mourns the loss of Poet Satyendranath Datta. His untimely death at the age of forty is a great tragedy. He was the only child and son of his father and the only grandchild and grandson of his grandfather Akshay Kumar Datta, the first writer of dynamic Bengali prose in the grand style. Akshay Kumar Datta's bent of mind was rationalistic and scientific, and he made strenuous efforts to acquaint his countrymen with the discoveries and achievements of science in many of its branches. Many of his books are still used as textbooks. In the introduction to his book on the Religious Sects of India, he wrote much regarding the antiquities of India in which he anticipated many writers of English articles, theses and books on those

subjects. His is a great name in Bengali literature,—great for its achievement and greater for the stimulus and inspiration that it has given to succeeding generations. It is the family of such a man that becomes extinct with the passing away of Satyendranath Datta, who leaves behind a childless disconsolate widow and a sorrowing widowed mother yearning for the coming of Death the Comforter..

Satyendranath was the greatest of the Bengali poets of the younger generation. It is very difficult, if not impossible, for any young contemporary of Rabindranath Tagore to remain uninfluenced by the depth and wide range of his poetry and thought. And so in a sense Satyendranath belonged to the school of Rabindranath; but he had independent inspiration and a distinct individual note of his own. His poetry was characterised at once by sturdy





SATYENDRANATH DATTA.

manliness, intellectual beauty, and a sweet music that was not cloying. In Bengali literature, no one, except Rabindranath, has surpassed him in variety of metre and cadence. As a translator of foreign poetry he stands unrivalled. His translations appear like the products of original inspiration. As a translator he did in poetry something like what his grandfather did in prose. The very fact that Satyendranath was such a successful and wide-ranging translator of Eastern and Western poetry, shows that, though he was a reserved and fiery nationalist—almost a revolutionary—he was no less a cosmopolitan. He had travelled in thought, imagination and sympathy all over the world, and sang in an exalted mood of fellow-feeling for all mankind:

“জগৎ জুড়িয়া এক জাতি আছে,  
সে জাতির নারী মানুষ জাতি;  
এক পৃথিবীর স্তন্যে লালিত,  
একই রবিশশী মৌদের সাধী।

“There is one race the world over,  
And that race is named Man;  
Nursed at the breast of the same

Mother Earth,  
The same sun and moon are our comrades.”

Satyendranath knew many languages of Europe and Asia, ancient and modern. He had inherited a fine library, to which he made constant additions, and he read what he bought. His creative and assimilative power being greater than his scholarship, great though it was, he did not suffer from mental dyspepsia.

Rabindranath had asked him once to accompany him in one of his tours through the continents. For some reason or other he could not go with the poet. Such a tour might have given him fresh inspiration, and, probably, prolonged his life, also.

He was an excellent prose-writer, too. In the novel named “Baroyari,” jointly produced by many hands, his contribution has been pronounced the best by competent critics. At the time of his death he was engaged in writing a novel for *Prabasi*, to which most of his intransigent patriotic poems, political, social, and other, were contributed; but unfortunately he has not lived to finish it.

In private life, he was a man of exemplary purity of character. Quiet and unobtrusive in manners, reserved in speech and simple in habits, he did not like the lime light, nay—he shunned it.

It has been proposed to publish a Satyendranath memorial volume with an introduction by Rabindranath Tagore. A desire has also been expressed that those of his poems which lie scattered in many periodicals, should be collected and published in book form. We learn that the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad may be able to keep a marble bust of his in its hall. All this should be done. But the best of all memorials would be for his countrymen to read his works, and make his spirit their own.

Satyendranath was our junior by about two decades. We respected him and loved him.

Farewell, Beloved of the Motherland,  
till we meet on the other shore!



## Harry Thuku and Kenya Indians

Since writing my article on this subject, I have received through certain new letters some further information, which I would add to what has already been related by me. It would appear that Harry was advocating in the 'Reserves' the destruction of the 'registration papers' (which are very greatly disliked by the natives, as they form a kind of 'ticket of leave' system and have to be shown as 'passes'), and also the refusal to do *Begar*, or forced labour, on the roads. He appears to have had the personal faults of one who has very suddenly been raised out of a state and environment of savagery,—such faults as a lack of proportion and judgment when dealing with opposition and a tendency while engaged in public speaking to make violent personal attacks on those who were against him, his personal vanity being very easily hurt. It is true, also, that he was once convicted of embezzlement, when serving in the Treasury. But the offer was made by the Treasurer, on his release, to reinstate him and to give him another trial in the Treasury office. He had great kindness shown him by individual Englishmen at that time, and he speaks highly of the Treasurer himself. I should add that when I was in Kenya more than six months ago, Europeans spoke kindly of him. They rather smiled then at his political propaganda and for the most part did not seem to take it seriously. It was a great shock to me when I heard of the deportation and the shooting.

All these further points, which I have gathered from different sources, do not appear to me to invalidate, but rather to strengthen, the demand for an act of public justice.

Whatever may have been Harry's personal faults, his brave action in taking up the cause of his own countrymen, at great risk of suffering to himself, has done more than anything else to open the eyes of the Kenya officials to the seriousness of the oppression of the natives which had been going on.

C. F. A.

## Dangers Ahead.

In his well-known work on *Social Reconstruction* (p. 120), M. Bertrand Russell writes:—

"Central African natives accustomed to living on the raw fruits of the earth and defeating Manchester by dispensing with clothes, are compelled to work by a hut tax which they can only pay by taking employment under European capitalists."

The above should be read along with what the *Morning Post* of London wrote in a recent issue of that paper.

"We have a direct concern in India, because it is one of the chief markets of the world. We went there as traders and, despite all the fine talk of our modern highbrows, there is still the material basis of our rule which might be put in the sentence: We give you protection and you buy our goods. If we abandon India, it will not be only the Indians who suffer, but the twelve million people of Lancashire, and indeed our whole industrial system which will be affected. After all, when all is said, this nation must live. That is the first consideration, and we see no other way in which this nation can live upon these little islands save by industry and trade."

This will explain why picketing of shops trading in foreign cloths is considered a great crime by Britishers in India and for which heavy sentences have been passed on men like Pandit Jawahirlal and others. While the most important "concessions" under the "Reforms" are latent, repression is patent to all. We should be prepared for more and more of it, if the cult of the *charka* and spinning and weaving spread more and more and reduction in the import of Manchester manufactures takes place in this country.

India is looked upon as the happy hunting ground for the Britishers, a market for British goods, and "the brightest jewel in the British crown." In "*Our Social Heritage*" first published in 1921, Mr. Graham Wallas writes,

"A Middlesbrough iron-moulder will be more likely to vote for a kind and wise policy in British India if he thinks of India, not as the brightest jewel in the British Crown, but as three hundred million human beings for whose fate he has his share of personal responsibility, who are troubled each week more keenly than he is troubled, about food



and clothing and housing, and sometimes feel, though less often than he feels, the vague stirrings of political and social hope."

But will or can those voters of England to whom India exists merely or chiefly for the exploitation of her resources by their kith and kin easily change their mentality regarding the welfare of the people of this country?

### Freedom and Achievement.

Gaurishankar has been re-named Mount Everest—perhaps thereby unintentionally symbolising the fact that when a people loses its independence, even the enduring geographical objects and features of its country cease to be its very own, coming to be known thenceforward by alien names and shorn of all their old historical and mythological associations which made them objects of love and reverence or awe-inspiring to the people. Are there any mountains or towns in France or Germany or Japan known respectively by Japanese, Chinese or British names?

Gaurishankar was ours, Mount Everest is not. The successive expeditions undertaken to reach its summit have been expeditions of foreigners—who are entitled to praise. Not that the children of the soil had not the physical strength, the physical endurance, and the courage to face difficulties, necessary for such undertakings. The coolies who have accompanied all these expeditions possessed these qualifications. But the children of the soil had not the soaring enterprising minds which impel men to achieve the hitherto unachieved. Nor had they the scientific knowledge and the skill to utilise that knowledge which are needed to make the ascent of very high mountains practicable. Up to a certain stage of civilisation, men's efforts and achievements move within the circumscribed area of their needs and utilities. It is only when they have left that stage behind that they think of doing that which no one had done before, without caring whether success would bring any advantages?

Such endeavours without any prospective advantages in view have generally

characterised free peoples; and it is these which have led to the discovery and conquest of new fields in the words of matter and of mind by them. It is beside our purpose to discuss whether they are free because they are adventurous or they are adventurous because they are free.

High intellectual achievement is also generally the glory of free peoples, though there are exceptions. For, even among subject peoples the mind of man cannot be entirely crushed, or cribbed, cabined and confined. Hence even among them we find a few persons famous for high intellectual achievement. But if we look around, we shall see that it is among the free peoples of the world that the vast majority of the foremost poets and other literatures, the foremost scientists and inventors, the foremost artists, the foremost historians and archaeologists, the foremost explorers, and the foremost philosophers have been born. We speak not of statesmen or generals; for whenever a subject people has produced great statesmen and generals, they have also become free.

Indians are said to be a nation of philosophers. Not that we are all really philosophers; but we are credited with having the philosophic temper and genius. But even in philosophy, our remarkable achievements are all in the past, when we were free, our present-day achievements being mostly expositions of the ancient philosophies of the land or boasts about them. Real progress in philosophy is being made in free and independent countries.

It is a just complaint of Indian nationalists that India is materially poor because she is not free. But her intellectual and spiritual poverty is not less deplorable but rather more. Even as regards our own country, the foremost Indologists are non-Indians, the foremost historians of India are non-Indians, the foremost archaeologists of India are non-Indians, the foremost writers on Indian philosophy are non-Indians, the foremost writers on Indian religions are non-Indians—to be brief, the foremost authorities in Indian subjects are generally non-Indians.



• We have spoken of our deplorable spiritual poverty. This will surprise and scandalise many Indians. But it is a fact. The spirituality of a people is measured by its inner and outward activities, having for their direct or indirect object, not any selfish material or worldly advantage, but the good of others and the progress and welfare of our souls. What is our place as determined by this test? We suffer from a lamentable paucity of workers in the fields of moral, social and spiritual uplift even within our own country. But many of the free peoples of the world have not only enough philanthropic workers for their own country, but have sent many to work and die for backward peoples, including cannibals, lepers, etc. We know, there are professional philanthropists and political philanthropists. But all are not such. There are real philanthropists, too. Have we any such, working abroad for the good of foreign peoples? The fact is, most of us are lifeless, and the few who have life are swallowed up with the depressing thoughts of the many grave evils to which India is a prey. Such being the case, we have neither thoughts, nor living men, nor energies to spare for other lands and peoples than our own. Free peoples have a superabundant stock of energies and living men.

That is why we find in the world's history that it is only the children of freedom who have fought for breaking the chains of others. France fought on the side of America to help her to throw off Britain's yoke. Byron and other Englishmen fought on the side of the Greeks in the Greek war of independence. Not having manhood themselves, how can subject peoples value manhood so highly as to risk their lives for helping others to recover it? It is a great shame no doubt to have to confess that we are as a people wanting in manliness. But it is a fact; and the more that fact is realised by the humblest to the most famous among us, the better for our people and country.

It would be of no practical advantage, though it may be of great academic

importance, to discuss whether it is the loss of freedom which has made us lifeless, inert, unmanly, devoid of the spirit of adventure in things external and in things of the intellect and the spirit, and grovelingly, selfish, or whether the loss of freedom was an inevitable consequence of the defects referred to above. What is indispensably necessary is that, ceasing to delude ourselves with the glamour of our proud past, we should see the reality and face it and develop in ourselves all those qualities which should characterise a free people—a people free in body, mind and spirit. Such development is not at all impossible. Men the world over are essentially alike. All excellences, all high qualities, lie dormant in all souls. Their development and manifestation depend upon right endeavour.

### Ignorance and Knowledge of Marathi.

Mr. Surendranath Sen, M. A., Ph. D., P. R. S., lecturer, Calcutta University, writes in *The Calcutta Review* :—

In his hurry he [Professor Jadunath Sarkar] forgot to look at the dedication of my *Siva Chhatrapati* and mistranslated *Sivaji Sarkha* as 'Equal of Shivaji.' A profound Marathi scholar like him could not but translate the passage in question as follows :—'rock of resolution...like Shivaji,' if he had only cared to look at it. But this is not the first time that I have been a victim of mistranslation. Babu Ramananda Chatterjee, in one of his editorial notes, translated the same phrase as pseudo-Shivaji. I do not know when Ramananda Babu learnt Marathi, but evidently his knowledge of that language is getting rusty.

Prof. Sarkar did not attempt a literal translation; he appears, however, to have given the sense quite correctly, because, as Dr. Sen's own translation also shows, the phrase taken with the three lines of verse following it in the dedication means that, according to Dr. Sen, Sir Asutosh Mukherjee possesses the five or six virtues of Sivaji cited there and is consequently the Maratha hero's equal in so many respects. We are unwilling to undertake the odious and, in this case, perfectly superfluous and unnecessary, task of examining the points of comparison. We dislike personalities.



As for ourselves, "Ramananda Babu" is undoubtedly ignorant of Marathi. But as in his opinion no modern Indian can be correctly likened to Sivaji, and as he is not humour-proof or even unconscious-humour-proof, he cannot but call any modern Indian a "pseudo-Sivaji", if he be compared to the founder of the Maratha Empire. One may do this without knowing a word of Marathi.

As Mr. Sen twits others with ignorance of Marathi, it would not be unjust if Marathi scholars gauged the depth of his knowledge of that language. We leave it to them to do so, if they care to. On our part, we have come to learn that he has published through the Calcutta University an English version of the Sabhasad Bakhar, two English editions of which by another hand had appeared long ago. The original we understand is a very small-sized volume of about a hundred pages, and yet the mistakes made by Mr. Sen in the translating and annotating of this little thing fill twenty-eight columns of the *Bibidha-dnana-vistar* (the leading literary monthly in Marathi), as a correspondent in Western India points out. Even the very phrase "Sivaji Sarkha," we are told, is unidiomatic and should be "Sivaji Sarkhe"! There are, we are informed, altogether four mistakes and solecisms in this one short dedication! Our informants may, however, be mistaken. For it is difficult to believe that so incorrect a translation of a book in the mother tongue of Sivaji could have been prescribed as a text-book for students in an University presided over by a modern Sivaji,—who by the bye, is such a "rock of resolution" that he at first took up a theatrically defiant attitude towards the Bengal M. L. C.'s but afterwards "sweetened their mouths" and presented them with copies of a certain publication!

### The Vernacular and the Classics in the Calcutta Matriculation.

The decision of the Calcutta University Senate that, except for the teaching of and examination in English, the vernacular should be the vehicle of instruction in

high schools, and the medium of examination in the Matriculation, is so natural and right that the citizens of free and independent countries would wonder why there was a lively debate on the subject. Their wonder would be abated if they remembered the political condition of India. For the imparting of modern knowledge to Indians, for world intercourse and for the progressive unification of the people of India, education in English has been and will continue to be necessary. And this is provided for by the new system to be introduced in high schools. For English will continue to be a compulsory subject of study. If special care be taken to teach modern English well, and if a viva voce examination in it be made a part of the annual test in all classes teaching it, there is no reason why it should not be learned as well as or better than now.

The change cannot be made all at once, and therefore the syndicate will have the power to make exceptions, not permanently, in favour of schools requiring special treatment. The syndicate may be trusted to be very liberal in this respect, as the University cannot afford to lose any appreciable number of Matriculation candidates, who are the most numerous customers at its certificates and degrees shop.

It has been pointed out that non-Bengali students in Bengal will be put to some difficulties in following instruction through the medium of Bengali. This cannot be avoided. Bengali school boys residing outside Bengal have a similar difficulty. When foreign students go to England, Germany, France, &c., they have to receive instruction through English, German, French, &c.; but they do not make a grievance of it.

The Bengali language is now so far advanced that very good text-books may be written in it on every subject included in the Matriculation course. There are, in fact, many such text-books already. As higher studies will continue, for some years at least, to be pursued at the university through the medium of English, in the Matriculation



Bengali text-books, all technical terms and special expressions and words used, in the historical, geographical, scientific and mathematical text-books should be provided with glossaries giving the English equivalents of these terms, &c. In the selection of text-books, special care will have to be taken to prevent favouritism and the misuse of patronage, which are two of the evils of the present-day administration of the Calcutta University. To tell the truth, as on the one hand we have rejoiced at the vernacular beginning to gain its rightful place in our educational system, so on the other our mind has been filled with misgivings as to the probable demoralizing effect on our educated class of placing further patronage at the disposal of the university boss and his subservient clique. As the preliminary to every progressive measure, the constitution of the university should be remodelled and placed on a thoroughly popular and representative basis. That alone, however, will not be productive of good, unless there is an accession of well-informed, unselfish, independent and active workers.

It has been alleged by ignorant critics that the present step has been taken as a sort of compromise with the non-cooperation movement. The fact, however, is that the movement in favour of the vernacular was started about two decades ago, and Sir Asatosh Mookerjee, the present Vice-Chancellor, has throughout consistently advocated the cause of the vernacular in a praiseworthy manner. Some apprehend that the vernacular may in the near future be made the vehicle of instruction and medium of examination for the higher University courses, too. We, on our part, look forward with pleasure to such a consummation, and hope that Sir Asatosh may be able to bring it about during his active career. Even so far back as three decades ago some successful professors taught science and mathematics in the B. A. classes mostly in Bengali. Unless the highest knowledge be available in the vernacular of a nation, it cannot become a national possession, though it can certainly become the possession of the for-

tunate few. The nation can assimilate the highest knowledge in all branches of learning only through the vernacular. That also leads to the enrichment and improvement of the national literature.

All those who are ranged on either side of the controversy should make themselves acquainted with the history and achievements of Waseda University in Japan, founded by the late Marquis Okuma for the thorough education of Japanese youth in all branches of learning through the medium of the Japanese language.

There was a time when in Europe Latin was the medium of instruction in the Universities. Later, the vernaculars of the different countries were adopted as the media. The writing of text-books in them was nowhere found to be an insurmountable difficulty. In India, too, it will not be an insuperable one. In the Osmania University founded by the Nizam, many text-books, on difficult subjects, have been already composed in or translated into Urdu. In Bengali, Hindi, Gujarati, and probably in some other vernaculars, technological terms relating to many fields of knowledge have been coined and compiled.

As regards the retention of a classical language—Sanskrit, Pali, Arabic or Persian, as a compulsory subject, opinions are divided. We are inclined to think that it is best not to have too many compulsory subjects. As the best works in Sanskrit are now available in Bengali translations, some means may be easily devised for ensuring their study by our students. For, it is undoubtedly necessary for a people to be acquainted with its ancient literature and culture. Those who may be attracted by the translations to the study of the originals, will naturally go in for the study of a classical language. What is true of Sanskrit, may be made true of the other classical languages of some Indian community or other by the production of translations of the best works in them. Some such translations are already in existence.

For a liberal education, a wide range of studies is undoubtedly necessary. At the same time, we should not forget



Shakespeare's words in *The Taming of the Shrew* :

"No profit grows where is no pleasure ta'en ;  
In brief, sir, study what you most affect."

### Co-operation Among Universities.

The annual conference of the Universities of Great Britain and Ireland was held in London on the 13th May last. Twenty-two Universities were represented by over 60 vice-chancellors, principals, professors, and officers. Among the matters for consideration one was specialization in certain subjects of study by the Universities. As the discussion bears on what has become a controversial topic in our country, too, it would be instructive to know what the great British educators said on the occasion. According to the *Times* report, Dr. L. R. Farnell (vice-chancellor of the University of Oxford), opening the discussion, said :—

It was becoming a physical and almost a financial impossibility for every university to teach everything, nor was it desirable that it should do so ; but a university would destroy its own soul and starve its own spiritual life if it specialized in one narrow branch. The idea that we should have one university for physical science and another for the humanities would be fatal both to the humanities and to physical science. Apart from the question of money, there were certain reasons why a university could not teach all subjects. Certain subjects belonged to specific localities. It would not be practicable at Oxford, for instance, to teach metallurgy as it could be taught at a university in a mining district. There were some studies, too, like Assyriology and astronomy, which were so esoteric as to have few votaries. He suggested that when a university was thinking of founding a new professorship or of accepting a new endowment, it should consider whether that particular endowment was best placed there, and also whether the circumstances of other universities rendered that particular endowment necessary or desirable.

Dr. R. A. Duff of the University of Glasgow said that

The universities hitherto had been run as unitary states. They were increasingly applying for public money, and were bound to justify any further extensions of the overlapping which existed to such a very great extent. If the universities did not remedy this overlapping from within by some federal system,

the University Grants Committee would be bound to step in in the national interest.

Mr. Fisher, President of the Board of Education, said,

He saw the necessity for co-operation. The expense of university education had become such, and the development of applied science had now reached such a point, that it was quite impossible for the nation as a whole to advance unless there was a much higher degree of co-operation between the universities in respect of the distribution of studies than hitherto had been thought necessary. They should husband their resources, and this work could best be done by the universities taking counsel one with another. He had no doubt the University Grants Committee would do its best to allocate Government grants on an economical plan, and with regard to the specialized aptitudes of particular universities and they would therefore help universities to realize the federal idea.

He further observed that—

The committee of Vice-Chancellors might be asked to inquire as to what new specialized departments requiring new endowments were appropriate to particular universities ; whether existing trust funds in particular universities could be applied to better uses within those universities ; and whether the statutes of the different universities could be so altered as to facilitate the migration of particular students in order to obtain the advantages of specialized teaching in other universities.

### Finances of Cambridge and Calcutta Universities.

*The Times* Educational Supplement for April 22 last contains an article on "Finance of Cambridge University", from which we learn that the total income of that University for the year ended September 30, 1921, was £101,571 10s. 8d. "The payments made from the chest in the same period amounted to £105,546 12s. 12d. There was, therefore, a deficit of £3,975 2s. 2d. on the year's working." It has been shown in the current *Ashād* number of *Prabāsi*, pp. 471-2, that the estimated income of Calcutta University for 1921-22 would not be less than that of Cambridge noted above, but the deficit would be several lakhs of rupees more than that of Cambridge. These facts show that it was possible for Calcutta to achieve success and win fame in some chosen subjects, if it did not spread its resources



over a wider range of subjects and throw economy to the winds.

If the reports of the two committees appointed by the Calcutta Senate in March last, to be submitted within one month, had been before the public, it would have been possible to suggest means and methods of helping the University out of public funds. But as we know nothing about the reports, we are unable to say anything definite. Speaking in general terms, the University undoubtedly deserves help on certain conditions for, in spite of serious defects and irregularities, its post-graduate department has done some good work which neither Calcutta nor any other Indian University had done or attempted before. But money should be given only on two conditions: (1) that the defects, interference with the purity of examinations, irregularities, and jobberies pointed out in the public press, be remedied and their recurrence prevented in the future by a suitable change in the constitution of the University bodies; and (2) such reduction in the staff of teachers and in the establishment be made and such retrenchment be otherwise effected as would prevent recurring deficits. For, supposing the Government of Bengal makes a grant sufficient to wipe out the present declared deficit (we have been informed by a competent and well-informed Senator that the real deficit is much less) of the University, what is there to ensure the future solvency of that body? Therefore, under the circumstances, we are against the perpetuation of the present state of the university by any grant being made unconditionally. The subject of University finance has been before the Government for a sufficiently long time to enable it to enquire into the matter thoroughly. But it has done nothing of the kind.

### Insult to the Bengal Council.

In this connection *The Servant* has rendered a public service by calling attention to the fact that the Bengal Government has not appointed any committee to enquire into the finances of the University, according to the terms of a resolution moved by Babu Risindranath Sarkar in

the Bengal Council and accepted by it by a large majority. What is the reason for insulting the Council in this way? No wonder *The Servant* has indignantly written:—

Our great constitutional politicians are head over ears in love with the theory of Ministerial responsibility to the legislature, which the Reforms Act is supposed to have ushered in. The history of the last eighteen months teems with instances of the farcical manner in which the "Ministerial responsibility" has been discharged, but we do not remember if there has been anything more glaringly outrageous than the proposal to sanction a grant of two lakhs and a half to the University by way of a supplementary budget. The officially stated reason for this is:—

"In a letter to Government the Calcutta University has represented that the financial year 1921-22 opened with a debit opening balance of Rs. 1,48,055, and that it is anticipated that the total deficit in June 1922 will be Rs. 5,39,480. The deficit is due mainly to the fall in the receipts from examination fees, owing to the unexpected fall in the number of candidates for some of the University examinations in 1920-21 and to some extent owing to the (1) foundation of the Rangoon University, (ii) the establishment of the Dacca Intermediate and Secondary Education Board, and (iii) the non-co-operation movement.

It is, accordingly, proposed to give a grant of Rs. 2,50,000 during the current year to the Calcutta University to meet this deficit."

In this connection our readers may be reminded of the resolution moved by Babu Rishindra Nath Sarkar in the autumn session of the Bengal Legislative Council and accepted by the Council by a huge majority. According to the terms of this resolution, the Government was to appoint a Committee to inquire into the finances of the Calcutta University and to recommend whether financial help should or should not be given by Government to the University. We have been told in highflown language that education is a transferred subject and that the will of the Ministers, who shall act in accordance with the mandate of the Legislative Council, is supreme. But what do we find the Education Minister actually doing? He quietly shelves the resolution of the Council, a resolution which in theory is binding on him; he takes no steps to appoint the Committee or to inquire into the finances of the University; he gives obviously evasive answers to all interpellations on the point; but, ignoring his "Ministerial responsibility" to the Council, comes forward before the same Council with a proposal to grant two and a half lakhs of public money to the University whose financial management and allocations are suspect in the eyes of the very same Council.



We cannot forecast what the attitude of our M. L. C.'s will be to a demand which is an insult to their position and a repudiation of all ideas of responsible government; ..... But whatever they do, we hope that they will have the candour to drop the mask of "constitutional" procedure in the Reformed Councils.

A Calcutta daily has written a funny article on the subject of the supplementary grant. We are sorry we have neither the time nor the space to subject it to a scrutiny. But even a cursory glance at it reveals that the writer has failed in his attempt to run with the hare and hunt with the hound. We had heard sometime ago that such things would appear in that paper.

### In Aid of the Russian Intellectuals.

The Viceroy has subscribed to the funds which Babu Rabindranath Tagore has been trying to raise in aid of the destitute Russian intellectuals, at the request of Prof. Vinogradoff of Oxford. It may, therefore, be expected that the wealthy and official classes would now contribute their quota. Students and other educated persons ought to send to the poet at Santiniketan whatever they can. The scientists, poets, novelists, thinkers and artists of Russia have rendered great service to humanity at large. If their Bolshevik countrymen have not appreciated their worth, but have, on the contrary, tried to annihilate them, that is all the greater reason why the world at large should come forward to relieve their distress.

### Retrenchment Committees.

National governments may be either wasteful or economical. A foreign government ruling a dependency can never be as economical as a good national government may be. The reasons are quite simple. The personnel of a foreign government must necessarily be in great part foreign, and the foreign civil and military officers must be paid higher salaries than officers of the same class working in their own countries. Another reason is, that the army maintained by a foreign government in a dependency must be larger than what is strictly necessary for self-defence,

in order that it may do garrison work and serve other imperial purposes. Similarly, a foreign government must needs have a larger and costlier police establishment than a good national government. The espionage and detective arrangements of a foreign government must also be more elaborate and more expensive than those required by a good national government.

We write "*good* national government" advisedly. For, as we have said in the very first sentence of this note, national governments may be either wasteful or economical. The indigenous ruler or rulers of a country cannot be expected necessarily to safeguard its best interests. It may, however, be said that even if a national government is wasteful, the money spent wastefully remains generally in the country in the coffers of some individuals or classes.

In the interests of economy we should therefore make the utmost efforts to have a national government—a *good* national government. Of course, our present foreign government may be conducted more economically than at present; though that would be a mere palliative.

The Governments of India and of Bengal have appointed committees, to recommend means and methods of retrenchment. It is not of much use to discuss the personnel of these committees; because, in the first place, governments know their men better than we do, and in the second place, nothing stands in the way of the bureaucracy pigeonholing the reports of the committees, as so many previous reports and resolutions have been.

The leaders of the people have been for decades saying that more money ought to be spent on what are called the nation-building departments, viz., education, sanitation, agriculture, other industries, forests, &c. But there is reason to fear that the policy of retrenchment will affect these step-children of the foreign government more than other departments. One recent example will suffice to illustrate what we mean. We refer to a resolution of the Revenue Department, Government of Bihar and Orissa, dated June 15, 1922. It says that the Bihar and Orissa Agricul-



tural Committee advise that the Agricultural College at Sabour be closed.

"Government accept this recommendation..... Government agree with the recommendation of the Committee that the Entomological and Mycological sections at Sabour may be abolished, as soon as the College closes. With regard to the Chemical Section they agree with the Committee that the Agricultural Chemist should prepare an estimate of the time required to complete a useful survey of the soils of the province on the assumption that this will be the main work of the section, if it is retained as a separate unit in the organisation of the Department. On receipt of this estimate the question of retaining the section will be considered further. The majority of the Committee have recommended that the Botanical section should also be abolished as soon as the College closes. Government reserve this question for further consideration, but do not propose in the meantime to ask for the recruitment of an officer for the vacant post of Economic Botanist nor *a fortiori* for the post of Second Economic Botanist, which stands in the sanctioned cadre.

#### CATTLE BREEDING.

The majority of the Committee have recommended that Sipaya should in effect be closed down as a breeding station as soon as practicable. This recommendation will have the earnest consideration of Government, but a definite decision cannot be reached immediately. Pending that decision, the Superintendent of the cattle-breeding station, who is a temporary officer, has been given notice that his services will not be required beyond November next.

These particular decisions may be right or may be wrong; but it is ominous that the work of cutting down expenditure should have been commenced in those departments which never had enough money devoted to them.

Our idea is that there should be retrenchment both in the military and the civil establishments of Government. A great saving may be effected by Indianising the Army. At a meeting of the Legislative Assembly Sir Godfrey Fell furnished the following statement giving particulars of the comparative monthly cost of an Indian and a European soldier:—

EUROPEAN		Rs.
Sergeant, married	...	260
" unmarried	...	204
Corporal, married	...	226
" unmarried	...	117
Private, married	...	206
" unmarried	...	150

#### INDIAN

Havildar, Infantry	...	52
" Artillery	...	52
" Cavalry	...	58
Naik, Infantry	...	48
" Artillery	...	49
" Cavalry	...	53
Sepoy, Infantry	...	42
" Artillery	...	44
" Cavalry	...	45

The "forward" military policy should be given up.

Many years ago Assam, Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Chota Nagpur combined formed one administrative unit and were under one satrap. Now they constitute three different units with their different governors, secretariats, heads of departments, boards of revenue, &c. This has increased the cost of administration enormously, without corresponding increase of "efficiency" and of the prosperity and enlightenment of the people. We know that the Biharis refused to be "fellow-slaves" of the Bengalis. But in "liberating" them, was it not possible to make any cheaper administrative arrangement than the present one?

There is a large and increasing volume of opinion against the Delhi scheme. Can it not be given up even now?

The commissionerships of divisions should be abolished. It was shown in detail in a previous number of this REVIEW that considerable reductions can be made in the controlling, supervising and superior inspecting staff of the police department in Bengal. Similar reductions can be made in the inspecting staff of the education department.

The salaries of the highest, higher and high officers are all capable of great reduction. When in Japan the prime minister gets Rs. 1500 a month and the other ministers Rs. 1000 a month, it is absurd to pay huge salaries to our officials. In India, from the Viceroy downwards, every high officer gets a larger salary than the corresponding class of officers in even the richest countries of the world. This should not be. Even the money-lenders of Britain have come to know that India is on the verge of bankruptcy. Hence they have



begun to fight shy of Indian Government loans. There may be other causes of their timidity, but the insolvency of the Indian Government is a cause.

The idea must be given up that Government officers, of whatever colour, are very superior creatures who must live in luxury and comfort and have a good bank balance but that the common man who supplies their huge salaries is dirt beneath their feet, and so it is nobody's business to enquire and see that he has enough to lead a human life, enjoy the conveniences and pleasures of knowledge, the joys of art, and the bliss and consolations of religion.

### Civil Disobedience.

The All-India Congress Committee and the Khilafat Conference Committee have done well at their Lucknow sitting to decide that for the present mass civil disobedience should not be resorted to, and that in the mean time it should be ascertained by touring in the country what progress has been made with the constructive programme of the Congress and how far particular areas are in a proper condition to offer passive resistance.

### Love of India and Love of Britain.

Lord Ronaldshay is reported to have said in the course of his speech at the Calcutta Dinner in London that "Non-co-operation mistook hatred of Britain for love of India and acted accordingly". This sweeping statement is not true, though there are many non-co-operating and co-operating Indians who are guilty of that mistake. But this is not a mistake peculiar to us. Among the nationals of every country there are multitudes who measure their love of country by the degree of their hatred of their rivals, exploiters, enemies, and foreigners in general. Lord Ronaldshay surely knows that Nelson exhorted every budding naval officer "to hate a Frenchman as the very devil".

Lord Ronaldshay has accused non-co-operators of one kind of mistake. Most Britishers concerned with India make a mistake of another kind. They would do well,

therefore, to remember that greed of Indian gold and lust of power over Indians are not synonymous with love of India, and that the man who eats a sheep is not necessarily a lover of the sheep, though he is undoubtedly a lover of mutton.

### The Next Advocate-General of Bengal.

The next Advocate General of Bengal should be a Bengali. There are several qualified Bengalis possessed of the requisite ability. Whoever among them may be appointed will spend at least a little more of his wealth in and for the country than an advocate-general of British extraction generally does.

As for frugal expenditure of public money, may we ask, whether after the constitution of Bihar & Orissa into a separate province with a separate High court, the removal of the capital to Delhi and the formation of the enclave of Delhi, the Bengal Advocate General's pay should not be reduced?

### President of the Bengal Council.

People are enquiring, for how many months Sir Syed Shams-ul-Huda actually worked as president of the Bengal Council and for how many months he has drawn his salary. They are also curious to know whether it is quite in order to grant leave to an officer before he has actually taken charge of his office, as appears to have been done in the case of Mr. H. E. A. Cotton. Will some Bengal M. L. C. be the means of satisfying public curiosity by putting a question or two?

### Why No Retrenchment Committee for Calcutta University?

Curiosity also exists as to why, though the Governments of India and Bengal have appointed retrenchment committees, no such committee was appointed for the Calcutta University according to the terms of a resolution carried in the Bengal Council. What has become of the Education Minister's accusations of thoughtless expansion, and "criminal" this or that? Or is he satisfied



that Mahadev is in his Kailas and all is well with the world?—as Browning, should have now said.

### Calcutta Municipality.

Mr. Surendranath Mallik, acting chairman of the Calcutta Municipality has been giving a good account of himself, though we are aware his reported high pressure at the unfiltered water pumping stations has not supplied many premises with a drop of that precious commodity, nor has his incumbency made any change for the better in the filthy condition of many a lane. We do not blame him for that. A chairman cannot do and see everything personally.

The rate-payers will be thankful to him if he can, before he leaves office, introduce an innovation or two. Is it impossible or against any law to make the official reports of the proceedings of the corporation available to such journalists and others as would like to have them for public purposes, on payment if necessary? Publicity generally makes for efficiency. Another suggestion that occurs to us is that the annual accounts of the corporation may be made open to inspection by ratepayers before they have been audited, for a fixed period and during prescribed hours. Is it impracticable?

### Wanted Post-graduate Classes Inspection.

There are many teachers in the post-graduate department of the Calcutta University who are also professors in affiliated colleges. Their work as professors in these colleges is inspected by the University. So, if the work done by them and their colleagues in the post-graduate classes were inspected, that would not imply any indignity or slur. And if it be necessary to inspect colleges, there is at least an equal need of inspection of the post-graduate department in Science and Arts. We say "at least", because whereas the colleges have principals to look after them, the post-graduate classes have no similar officer at their head. And there have been complaints of long-standing of post-graduate teachers taking french leave, &c.

### Home Rule All Round in Britain.

The "birth" of the Irish Free State is said to have started talk anew, in some quarters, of "Home rule all round in Britain", by which is meant autonomy for Scotland and Wales as apart from England proper. In Wales, Home Rule has already entered the range of practical politics, according to the *London Pall Mall Gazette*, which says:—

Under the Welsh plan the Imperial Parliament would reserve its powers on questions affecting the crown, peace and war, foreign affairs, regulation of trade and industrial legislation and postal and other communications.

To a Welsh Parliament would go control of local government, education, judiciary, agriculture and internal commerce. Restoration of the ancient office and title of Lord President of Wales is proposed. To save the Welsh rural areas from domination by the great industrial population of the South, the Welsh Parliament would include an Upper House, consisting of two representatives of each county and county borough, and two from the national university of Wales.

There is some opposition to the plan even in Wales, but the proposals come nearer to meeting the aspirations of moderate nationalist Wales than anything that has hitherto been advanced. Though there is little likelihood of immediate legislation, belief among the Welsh members that the principality is within sight of a parliament in Cardiff is firm and general.

The oppressed, misgoverned and exploited inhabitants of Scotland and Wales have our profoundest sympathy—particularly Mr. Lloyd George, the Welsh prime minister of the British Empire.

### A Golden Deed in Japan.

*The Inquirer* of London has culled from Mr. J. W. Robertson Scott's new book, "The Foundation of Japan", a story of a Japanese peasant that deserves a place in some Golden Treasury.

The story is that a peasant in a period of scarcity happened to be the possessor of the only unbroken bale of rice in his village. He himself suffered from lack of food, but, looking to the future, he resolved to sacrifice himself for others' good. He would not cook any of the rice, because he saw that it would take away from the only store the village would have for sowing in the spring. Eventually he was found dead of hunger in his cottage, his head resting upon the unopened bale of rice. Who shall say that he has not a place in the brightest hero-list of those who have laid down their lives for their friends?



### Repression.

Repression is going on very vigorously in all provinces. We along with other journalists simply record the fact. For we are helpless units of a helpless people. But it should not surprise anybody if the people suddenly discovered and used their ability to help themselves.

Among the most noteworthy of recently imprisoned patriots is Pandit Gopabandhu Das, the selfless *das* of the people of Orissa and of India.

### The Shelley Centenary.

Contrary to what many Englishmen think, we do not hate England. We are interested in some of her poets, thinkers, and some other persons. Among these, in spite of his faults, is the poet Shelley. He died on the 8th of July, 1822, within a month of completing the thirtieth year of his age—"a surprising example of rich poetic achievement for so young a man". So his centenary falls on the 8th of the current month. On this occasion we transcribe below passages from an estimate of Shelley from the Encyclopaedia Britannica.

"The character of Shelley can be considered according to two different standards of estimation. We can estimate the original motive forces in his character; or we can form an opinion of his actions, and thence put a certain construction upon his personal qualities. We shall first try the latter method. It cannot be denied by his admirers and eulogists, and is abundantly clear to his censors, that his actions were in some considerable degree abnormal, dangerous to the settled basis of society, and marked by headstrong and undutiful presumption. But it is remarkable that, even among the censors of his conduct, many persons are none the less impressed by the beauty of his character, and this leads us back to our first point—the original motive forces in that. Here we find enthusiasm, fervour, courage (moral and physical), an unbounded readiness to act upon what he considered right principle, however inconvenient or disastrous the consequences to himself, sweetness and indulgence towards others, extreme generosity, and the principle of love for humankind in abundance and superabundance. He respected the truth, such as he conceived it to be, in spiritual or speculative matters, and respected no construction of the truth which came to him recommended by human authority. No man had more hatred or contempt of custom and prescription. In public and private life he was more authentic or vivid sense of universal charity. The same radiant enthusiasm which appeared in his poetry as idealism stamped his speculation with the conception of perfectibility and his character with loving emotion."

"If we except Goethe (and leave out of count any living writers, whose ultimate value cannot at present be assessed), we must consider Shelley to be the supreme poet of the new era which, beginning with the French Revolution, remains continuous into our own day...He excels all his competitors in ideality, he excels them in music, and he excels them in importance... Shelley is emphatically the poet of the future... he appears destined to become, in the long vista of years, an informing presence in the innermost shrine of human thought... Shelley had the temper of an innovator and a martyr; and in an intellect wondrously poetical he united speculative keenness and humanitarian zeal in a degree for which we might vainly seek his predecessor."

The following lines quoted from *Queen Mab* are characteristic of his revolutionary idealism:—

"Power, like a desolating pestilence,  
Pollutes whate'er it touches; and obedience,  
Bane of all genius, virtue, freedom, truth,  
Makes slaves of men, and of the human frame  
A mechanized automaton."

### Non-political Section of European Association.

As Government has permitted its servants to become members of a separately organised and financed non-political section of the European Association, whose object is to safeguard European interests in India, *The Amrita Bazar Patrika* suggests that Congress should organise a non-political section of itself and ask Government servants to join it after obtaining permission of Government. Not a bad joke—futile though it be.

### Proposed Indian Chemical Society and Journal.

Dr. E. R. Watson, Principal of the Cawnpore Technological Institute, would like to get into touch with all chemists in India and would be much obliged if they would send him their addresses. He is president of a sub-committee appointed at the last meeting of the Indian Science Congress to consider the financial and other aspects of the formation of an Indian Chemical Society, the chief function of which would be the publication of a Jour-



nal, the need for which was stated to be generally felt.

### Reduction of British Postage.

With effect from the 29th May last, the British inland postage rate and the outward rate to British possessions and the United States have both been reduced to three-halfpence for the first ounce. In India, however, the postage rate has been increased—probably because India is getting richer and Britain poorer.

### Grave Developments in Iraq and Syria.

A Reuter's telegram, dated London, June 22, states that, according to a Colonial Office communique, it is officially reported from Baghdad that Captains Robert Keith Mahant of Iraq Livies and Sidney Stephen Bond, Assistant Political Officer at Chemichamal, were murdered in Kurdistan on June 18th by Karim Fatahbeg of the Hamwand tribe. This brief item of news does not give an exact idea of the disturbed condition of Iraq. The following joint cable to *Detroit News* and *The Chicago Daily News* gives more detailed information:—

Cairo, May 22—Advices from both British and Arab sources reaching here by airplane from Bagdad indicate the possibility of a renewal of the troubles in Mesopotamia, now called Irak. Like the present disorders in Syria, the threatened outbreak in Irak results from Arab resentment at the European mandates which the League of Nations Council is discussing in Geneva. After eight months of fighting a truce was reached between the British and the Arabs 14 months ago.

The negotiations continued after that between King Feisal and Sir Percy Cox, the British High Commissioner, regarding Irak's future, were broken last Thursday. King Feisal refused longer to discuss British insistence on the mandate, saying that he would be unable to control his people if he made any settlement on that basis.

Feisal suggested that Sir Percy continue the negotiations with the Irak ministry. The ministers met Saturday and took a position identical with that of the king, presented the British Commissioner with a similar reply and halted the negotiations.

#### IRAK SOON TO VOTE.

Elections are due in Irak soon, but they are threatened with a boycott by virtually the entire Arab population, which is opposed to

the mandate. A similar protest was made against the French mandate when the elections were held in Syria.

American interests, on account of the recent agreement obtaining equal prospecting rights for American and British companies in the Irak oil fields, are considerably concerned over the possibility of a renewal of hostilities in the valleys of the Euphrates and Tigris.

Further disorders occurred in Damascus on Friday, which is the Mohammedan Sunday, according to reports coming from Syria by secret code. When the attendants at the noon-day prayer meeting were leaving the Mosque of Omeiad, a parade of men and boys carrying Turkish flags and shouting "Long live Mustafa Kemal Pasha" appeared on the street.

#### ATTACKED BY SYRIANS.

The Omeiad Mosque is one of the largest in the world, holding 30,000 worshippers. Syrian Nationalists tore the Turkish flag into shreds and started a riot, to quell which the French troops that have surrounded the mosque since the recent disorders, were obliged to use machine guns. Syrian reports are that the pro-Turk demonstration was staged under French auspices.

The French authorities removed the Syrian minister of the interior, the secretary of the ministerial council, and one member of the state council charged with sympathizing with the Syrian independence and prohibited the three men from ever again holding office.

On account of the danger from attacks by desert Bedouins, gun emplacements have been built on the Trans-Jordan border along the Damascus-Medina Railroad, east of the Jordan River.

### Murder of Sir Henry Wilson.

The murder of Field-Marshal Sir Henry Wilson, in London by two men, taken to be of Irish extraction, is a wicked crime. The Irish Republican Army and the leaders of the different Irish parties have condemned it. A definite British official pronouncement has been made that there is no Irish organisation behind the dastardly act. It is to be hoped that this will prevent the further embitterment of feelings between the Irish and the English.

Every one, Irish or English, will, no doubt, express abhorrence at the crime, and the assassins will also be punished as they deserve. But whenever there is any such act, it is good to remember that the assassins are, as it were, only the points of discharge of the electricity of hatred with which the entire opposing



communities are fully charged. Englishmen in general and Irishmen in general cannot claim to be free from moral responsibility for the crime, just as when an Indian murderer kills any European, or vice versa, neither Indians nor Anglo-Indians (old style) can claim to be perfectly innocent. They alone can claim to be quite innocent who are real lovers of humanity, irrespective of race, nationality, colour or creed; but such men are few in number.

There is much truth in Mr. De Valera's statement, in the course of which he says that:—

The killing of any human being is an awful act, but it is as awful when the victim is a humble worker or unknown peasant as when he is placed in the seats of the mighty and known in every corner of the earth.

He did not know who the shooters of Sir Henry Wilson were, or why they shot him, but he knew the attitude of mind which a campaign of outrage and aggression begets. He knew that life has been made hell for the Nationalist minority in Belfast and its neighbourhood during the past couple of years.....

He shared the belief that Imperialism was responsible for the outrage and could imagine relatives taking the law into their own hands. He did not approve, but he did not pretend to misunderstand.

### Murder of Herr Rathenau.

The murder of Herr Rathenau, German Foreign Minister, has also caused a great sensation. It is another horrible crime, due, not to racial hatred, but probably to party machinations. It has been suspected to be the signal for the monarchist and militarist elements to rise against the Republic.

Various wrong ideas prevail all over the world regarding murders. One is that political murders are not as sinful as murders for private reasons. Another is that political murders are more heinous than murders due to non-political causes. A third is that it is more detestable and wicked to kill an obscure, non-official than to kill an officer, particularly a high officer. A fourth is that it is more wicked and horrible to kill an officer, particularly a high officer, than it is to kill a non-official, particularly an obscure non-official. A fifth is that it is not so wicked

for a member of a subject race to kill a member of an imperial race as it is for a member of an imperial race to kill a member of a subject race. A sixth is that it is not so heinous for a member of a conquering race to kill one of a subject race as it is for anybody to kill one belonging to a conquering race. A seventh is that it is comparably excusable to kill one belonging to a hostile party or faction. An eighth is that murder of a white by a non-white or vice versa is not so wicked as murders of whites by whites or of non-whites by non-whites. And so on and so forth.

But murder is murder, whoever and whatever may be the murderer and the murdered.

### Lynching Again.

Some time ago the Americans sent a committee or commission to enquire into and report upon the doings of the Black and Tan (the British soldiers) in Ireland, and an illustrated report was published. We have seen a copy of it. It makes gruesome reading.

Not less gruesome, however, are the accounts of lynchings in America which appear occasionally in American newspapers. Take the following from the *New York Nation* of May 17 last:—

Three Negroes, charged with assault and murder of a 17-year-old white girl, were roasted to death by a mob at Kirvin, Texas. The first Negro burned is alleged to have confessed and implicated the other two, although even under torture they steadfastly denied their guilt. Before they were set afire, the three men were mutilated. This triple orgy, unique even in the annals of our South, where human beings are burned alive every year, took place in front of a church. Almost simultaneously three hundred Americans, among them seventeen State governors, thirty mayors of large cities, some of them in the South, representatives of every important religious denomination, and many judges of State supreme courts, presented a petition to the United States Senate to pass the Dyer anti-lynching bill. Is more convincing evidence needed for such legislation than this recent Texas savagery, a horror unknown in the most primitive of the countries which we white men set up to govern?

### Cruelty in India.

It is useless to try to ascertain with nicety whether we are less cruel



than other people. There is no doubt that this trait of ferocious animals exists in our nature. We are not referring to Chauri Chaura, Nankana Sahib, Kartarpur, or the Moplah rebellion, but things which are more ordinary.

It is a fact that the percentage of suicides among women in India is higher than in any other civilised country. What is the cause? Why are there cases of women in Bengal burning themselves to death by soaking their dress in kerosene oil and setting fire to it? In many homes, the lot of the daughter-in-law is very miserable. This fact became prominent during the trial of the husband, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law of a girl of 17 named Anandamayee who used to be kept confined in a cabin, two by two by two yards, and starved and branded with hot irons. Such cases come before courts only rarely; but they are certainly of more frequent occurrence than the number of prosecutions would show.

The slicing off of the tips of women's noses is another dastardly practice of scoundrels. It is a great pity that the criminals generally get off with such light sentences as six months' imprisonment for disfiguring a woman for life. The punishment should be more exemplary and deterrent. In such cases one feels inclined to demand a nose for a nose.

Whatever the other disadvantages and harmful results of child-marriages, so long as there was a strict general adherence to the orthodox custom of postponing the living together of husband and wife till after the performance of a post-puberty religious ceremony, the physical sufferings of child wives were somewhat minimised. But with the decrease of orthodoxy, the physical sufferings of many immature wives at the first stage of their conjugal lives must be acute and prolonged. They are, however, dumb sufferers and therefore we escape being arraigned at the bar of civilised humanity as a cruel people. But nemesis overtakes us all the same. Our vital statistics, our poor physique, our miserable intellectual output, all tell the tale.

### The Palestine Mandate.

What is the matter with the Palestine Mandate that it should have lost favour with the ruling classes of Britain? Is there no oil there? Or is there less oil than would be considered sufficient compensation for encountering Arab hostility? Or are the Jews, whose wealth is "the hidden hand" behind many British happenings, not so eager to make their homes in their home country as it was expected they would?

We refer to oil, as, according to the *New York Nation*, there was a strong "diplomatic smell of oil" at the Geneva conference. That journal says:—

For a brief moment the clouds lifted at Genoa, and we glimpsed the underlying economic struggle. The talk of "Germany," of "Russia," of "France," of "England," and of their political spokesmen faded; instead the excited correspondents cabled columns about the "Royal Dutch," the "Shell," the "Anglo-Persian," and the "Standard Oil." The great oil companies assumed the center of the stage; the politicians appeared plainly as the puppets; for a day or two we were even permitted to read the names of the men who pull the strings.

### Protest of Natal Indian Congress.

A telegram received from the Natal Indian Congress states that a mass meeting of the congress protested (a) against the rural dealers licensing ordinance passed by the Natal Provincial Council depriving Indians of their existing rights, (b) against the ordinance disfranchising Indians in townships, and (c) against the ordinance segregating Indians in Durban. The meeting emphatically declared that the Indian community would be doomed if the Union Governor-General sanctioned these measures. That is certainly our opinion, too.

### Mr. Sastri in Australia.

It cannot be said that the feeling against Indians in the British colonies is strongest in Australia or that their lot is the hardest there. In fact, there is no such feeling against them there as exists in South Africa or Fiji, for example. And in some of the states of Australia the Indians had been enjoying the franchise from before Mr. Sastri's visit. He has, however, for reasons which we do not know, chosen to



visit Australia first, in order to plead with the citizens there to have pity on the Indians residing in that island continent and improve their condition and status, whatever that may mean. That may or may not be a useful role but it is undoubtedly not a *proud* role; though to those Indians who pretend to be *proud* of being British subjects it may seem such. Let us, however, hope that after finishing his softest job first, Mr. Sastri will tackle the tough jobs elsewhere.

He has said that he does not want Australia to give up her "white Australia policy". He is welcome to cherish and preach such an opinion as his own. But we must protest if he says or suggests that that is the representative Indian opinion. Both moderates and extremists are of one mind in this, that those who will not give us the right of free ingress, egress and choice and pursuit of occupation in their country, must not claim such right in India. We may not be able to enforce our will, but let there be no mistake about what we think and want. We do not pray to or entreat any people to confer any boon on us. What we say is this: It is neither gentlemanlike nor sportsmanlike to seek those advantages from any country which you deny to its children in your own country; if "White This or That Country" be the right policy, "Brown or Black or Yellow This or That Country" is just as good a policy. We do not want to be exclusive, have not been exclusive through the ages; but surely it is less than human not to think of excluding those who exclude or seek to exclude us. Exclusion may not be the right method or policy for us; but the thought of reciprocal action cannot be shut out from the mind.

Mr. Sastri knows that there is no party in India which does not want honorable and citizenlike treatment for Indians residing in the British colonies; there we are all of one opinion. And Mr. Sastri's mission, we take it, is to secure such treatment. Why, then, does he talk Indian party politics abroad? Does he

not know the old Sanskrit verse which says that though the five sons of King Pandu are Pandavas when pitted against the hundred sons of Dhritarastra, both the parties combined make one hundred and five princes of the line of Kuru when pitted against some common antagonist? And why talk of any party in India seeking to break up the British Empire, when the Congress has yet to declare itself in favour of independence? Does Mr. Sastri think that any colonists can be greater lovers of India than even the rankest extremists?

Incidentally, we have a few words to say on one of Mr. Sastri's observations. He said in the course of one of his speeches in Australia that the Brahmans of India have been able to preserve the purity of their blood. What he meant to suggest thereby, we cannot definitely say; we can only guess. Probably he meant that as by means of the caste system the Brahmans have been able to preserve the purity of their blood, so the white colonists may be able to remain white, even after allowing black, brown or yellow immigration, by not intermarrying or interdining with them;—we hope Mr. Sastri did not further suggest that the white colonists should treat coloured immigrants as the Brahmans have treated the "untouchables" for countless generations. But is there any politically-minded Indian of any party who is prepared to accept for his countrymen the position of an inferior caste, not to speak of the position of "untouchables", in any foreign country?

As for the claim that the Brahmans have been able to preserve the purity of their blood, is Mr. Sastri so ignorant of Indian history and of anthropology, as to think that the Brahmans or, for that matter, any race, caste or tribe in any country, have pure blood? Purity of blood is a myth. Go where you will in India, you will find both fair-complexioned and very dark-complexioned and straight-nosed and snub-nosed, Brahmans. On the other hand, we are personally acquainted with Nama-sudras, for example, who are as fair-complexioned as Kashmiri Brahmans.



## A. G. Gardiner on Bottomley.

Writing on "The Fall of Bottomley" in *The Nation and The Athenaeum*, Mr. A. G. Gardiner exclaims :

"Well, Bottomley is condemned and the British jury system is acquitted, and now that the nuisance that has poisoned the public air for a generation has been swept away, we may usefully ask why it was allowed to pollute the world so long and so triumphantly. It cannot be a pleasant inquiry, for it involves a good deal more than Bottomley. It involves that enormous public which made him its idol and gave him his sinister power. It involves..."

Proceeding Mr. Gardiner adds :—

"It involves the Press, which, until *Truth* addressed itself to the task of getting rid of this public shame, preserved a craven silence in regard to Bottomley's proceedings, printed his name with respect, accepted his advertisements, published, even while the case was going on, articles which were undisguised eulogies of the man. It involves distinguished men, in and out of Parliament, who gave Bottomley the prestige of their patronage and approval. It involves finally and most seriously the Government itself which employed Bottomley, on what terms we now know, and in doing so covered his villainies with the hall-mark of the State.

If in a country "where education and political power are universal, so base and evil a man should have been able for years to command the greatest popular following of any one in public life", we must not think that democracy or what passes by that name is a sure cure for all the ills that infest human society. When all the distinguished men in Britain kept quiet and consulted their own convenience, *Truth*, by no means the most wealthy journal, dared to expose the scoundrel. That ought to be an encouragement to honest journals in India.

Referring to Bottomley's case, the editor of *The Nation and The Athenaeum* observes :

"Bottomley's career of prey is over, and for good. The special shame of it is its cashing of war-emotions for private plunder. He was used by the Government for recruiting purposes and he played it false. The war-spirit is served by crooked instruments, which become its later Nemesis."

So, we must not think that those who are used by Government must necessarily be angels. Government may know some to be rogues and yet use them.

## Independence Won, and Independence Given.

There are some Kings who are born independent, there are some who win independence, there are others who are given independence. The quality and satisfactory character of the last brand of independence will appear from the following paragraph extracted from the *New York Nation* :—

Feisal, crowned King of Irak, in the expectation that he would be a docile satrap of Britain in Mesopotamia, satisfied with a title in lieu of independence, is chafing at his role. He asks that the British withdraw their Indian civil-service advisers as they had promised ; he refuses to prohibit demonstrations in favor of abolishing the British mandate over Mesopotamia, and declares that "We Arabs hate to submit to any foreign authority. We hated the Turks, and we are not going to accept another bondage now." Meanwhile the other new puppet king, Ahmed Fuad of Egypt, announces that the Sudan, historically part of Egypt, is part of his kingdom of Egypt. The British, who were a bit vague about the matter in earlier negotiations, are now very sure that it is not. The Sudan, Lord Curzon says, is still British. (Incidentally the Sudan, controlling the headwater of the Nile, controls all Egypt by that fact.) So the business of granting "self-government" without granting self-government runs into snags. It may be a very fine thing on paper to grant the name of independence while holding the reins unobtrusively in the hands of the Christian empires ; in practice it does not work. Human nature intrudes upon paper theories, as the half-and-half apostles of liberal imperialism must learn. You either let a people run its wayward course of chaotic self-government, taking upon itself the burden of its mistakes, or step by step you are forced into the historic horrors of imperialism : you shoot down patriots as "bandits," you employ Black and Tans, you have Amritsars, you arrest Gandhi. Outside of the mouths of pleasant speakers there is no such thing as liberal imperialism.

## Addendum.

Having been undeceived by the logic of facts, we restore the following passage, omitted by us in an inrush of faith in man, from "The Present State of the Calcutta University, in the light of facts". On page 89, column 1, lines 43-44, after the words "financial mismanagement", add :

"To these we may now add another, namely, (10) that there should be a medical examination of every person appointed by the University. Darbhanga Buildings is not a *Dome des Invalides*. If you have already



taken one uncertified lunatic for a department, why again negotiate with a newspaper proprietor for engaging another sufferer from cerebral malady?"

### Non-co-operation and the University Deficit.

The statement of the causes of the huge deficit of the University, quoted in a previous Note, cannot be accepted without close scrutiny. During how many years has this deficit accumulated? Where was non-co-operation then? When has the Rangoon University and the Dacca Secondary Education Board begun to work? What numbers of candidates used to be sent up by Dacca and Burma? The loss of these candidates cannot have caused the huge deficit to any appreciable extent. The non-co-operation movement produced its startling effect in Bengal after Mr. C. R. Das had announced that he had given up his practice. What was the date of that announcement? In his speech made in the Bengal Legislative Council on the 1st March, 1922, the Hon'ble the Minister of Education, said with reference to the alleged deficit of 5½ lakhs:

"I believe he [Prof. S. C. Mukherji] said that it was due to the non-co-operation movement. But is Prof. Mukherji sure that the loss is due to the effects of non-co-operation? Has he cared to enquire to what extent the loss may not also be due to the thoughtless expansion of the University in the past?" "...the financial management of the Calcutta University in the past was deplorable."

Referring to the opening *debit* balance of Rs. 2,49,108 of the Fee Fund in the year 1920-21, the Minister observed:

".....in the year ending June 1920 the Calcutta University spent Rs. 1,88,743 of the previous year's balance plus Rs. 29,171, totalling Rs. 2,37,000, over and above the huge fee receipts of Rs. 11 lakhs or so; that is to say an aggregate of Rs. 13,37,914. I put it to the house and to Prof. Mukherji, where was the non-co-operation movement in that year?"

Before the consideration of the proposal of making a grant, there should be an independent audit of accounts up to date. In the mean time, in order to safeguard

the interests of post-graduate students, they should be, by a special ordinance, allowed to appear at their respective examinations in due course without attending lectures, as was the rule many years ago.

### "Visva-Bharati."

In the course of a review of Tagore's "Creative Unity", *The Times* Literary Supplement remarks with reference to his University of Visva-Bharati at Santiniketan:

What he says in depreciation of the type of education established by the British in India is probably only too true. The trouble has been that modes of education traditional in England (and perhaps not altogether satisfactory here) were unintelligently transferred to the very different Indian world. Those who introduced them never turned their thought to first principles and asked what precisely education was intended to accomplish. Rabin-drath does raise this fundamental question and the ideal of a university which he sketches really brings thought and imagination to bear upon the problem. His university is not to confine itself to intellectual culture, but "Co-operate with the villages round it, cultivate land, breed cattle, spin cloths, press oil from oilseeds." How far the exigencies of time would admit of the poet's ideals being realized in practice one does not know; but one hopes that if the people of Bengal are now to frame their educational system for themselves, Dr. Rabin-drath Tagore will be called into counsel.

We are glad to learn that Sir J. C. Bose and Dr. Brajendranath Seal have accepted the offices of Vice-presidents of the University at Santiniketan, and Sir Michael Sadler has written to say: "I accept with gratitude the honour of being enrolled as a foundation honorary member of your International University of Santiniketan. I hope that its work may be very fruitful in furthering the spiritual unity of fellow-learners in East and West."

The work of the new session will soon commence.

### ERRATUM.

May M. R., P. 644, 2nd column, 24th line, for "paternal" read "fraternal and".



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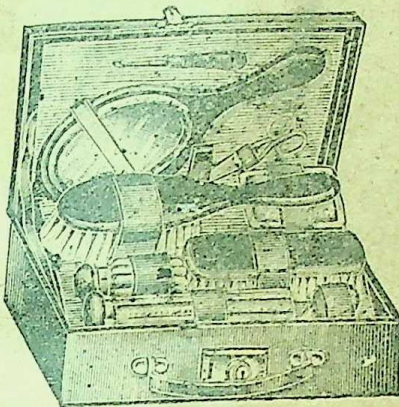
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